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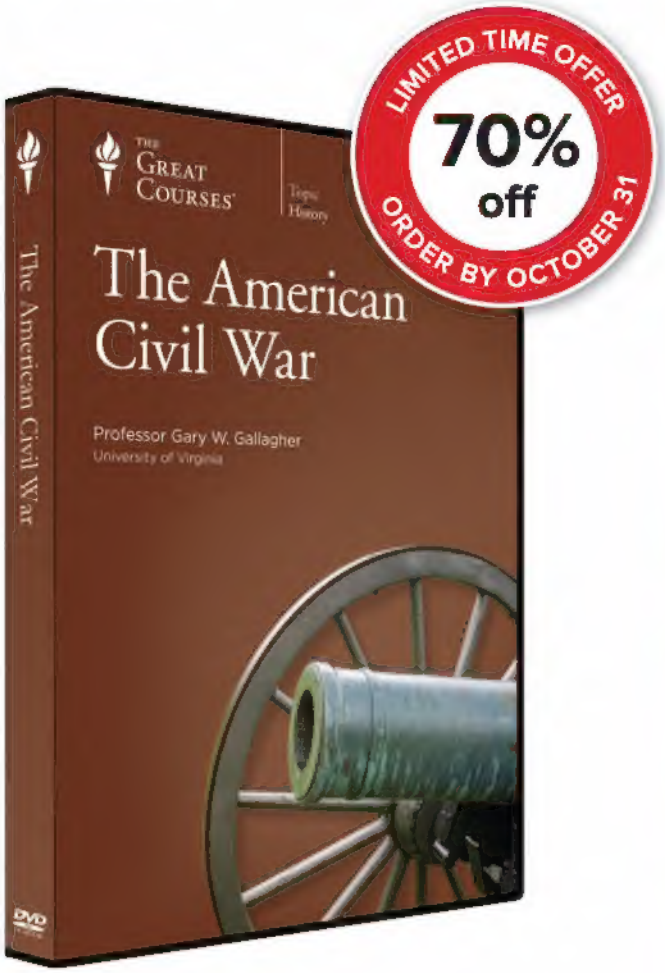

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This issue of *History* looks back at not one, but two monumental revolutions: the Reformation, which began in 1517, and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Separated by 400 years, these two events don't appear to have much in common, but at their core they are bound together by the power of great writing.

Five hundred years ago Martin Luther wrote his Ninety-five Theses, which took on the Catholic Church. Thanks to the recent invention of the printing press, Luther's message spread, sparking the Reformation.

In 1917, after returning to Russia from exile, Vladimir Lenin published his April Theses, in the Bolshevik newspaper, *Pravda*. His vision for the future of Russia would become the blueprint for the new government that would take power by the end of the year.

Both Luther and Lenin wrote, and wrote well. The questions they asked were provocative. The answers, controversial. But their words struck a strong enough chord to bring many people together in revolutions that would transform the world.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

PETER NEWARK PICTURES/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

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USERHAT'S TREASURE TROVE

Luxor's Multiple Mummy Mystery

After resting for 3,500 years, an ancient Egyptian noble is at the center of an amazing find: a tomb full of mummies and priceless artifacts.

A TEAM MEMBER DISPLAYS AN ARTIFACT FROM THE 21ST DYNASTY, PART OF A CACHE LEFT IN THE TOMB CENTURIES AFTER ITS OCCUPANT WAS BURIED.
ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

The tomb complexes near ancient Thebes (modern-day Luxor) in Egypt keep revealing new surprises. Few have offered as many as the 3,500-year-old tomb of Userhat, where researchers recently uncovered a huge cache of artifacts: mummies, sarcophagi, and figurines.

Part of the Dra Abu el Naga necropolis near the Valley of the Kings, 400 miles south of Cairo, the tomb of Userhat was constructed during the 18th dynasty (circa 1550–1290 B.C.). At this time, Egypt was developing into a major regional power, expanding into the lands of modern-day Sudan, as well as conquering swathes of territory in the Middle East.

Userhat was a judge and a wealthy nobleman. His extensive tomb reflects his rank. He was known as "magistrate and member of the council of the city [of Thebes]." Having analyzed the massive quantity of items found, researchers believe Userhat's

TRUE COLORS Members of a team coordinated by Egypt's Antiquities Ministry restore one of several brightly painted sarcophagi found near Luxor in the 3,500-year-old tomb of a judge named Userhat.

ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

AN ARMY OF SERVANTS

WHO WOULD SERVE a rich Egyptian after his or her death? Egyptians believed that body and soul remained united, so they took care to bury the dead with ushabtis: an army of figurines who would come to life to provide the tomb's occupant with all he or she might need in the afterlife. The cache of 1,000 ushabti figurines found in Userhat's tomb—a selection of which appears in the image below—are carved in a variety of materials, including faience, terra-cotta, and wood. Once the soul of the deceased had been deemed pure, they reached Aaru, or paradise. Here, the ushabti fulfilled very specific functions, such as providing food, drink, and care. Aaru was envisaged as a land as rich and fertile as the Nile Valley itself, so these figurines would have plenty of other work to do—irrigating, sowing, plowing, and harvesting.

ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

tomb was reopened during the 21st dynasty—centuries after his death. Unlike as with many other tombs, whoever opened it did not take things out. They put things in: several mummies and sarcophagi plus hundreds of artifacts.

Close Quarters

Members of the dig, led by Egypt's Antiquities Ministry, had to clear some 16,000 cubic feet of rubble before the vast quantity of items stored there became evident. The main, rectangular burial chamber was found to contain a wooden coffin in very good condition and decorated with colorful scenes. Nearby, the team explored a steep, 30-foot-long shaft, which led them down to two smaller chambers.

One of these rooms was crammed with wooden masks and huge numbers of ushabti, the funereal figurines left in ancient Egyptian tombs and believed to be servants to the deceased in the afterlife. The other chamber stored mummies as well as 10 sarcophagi dating from the 21st dynasty.

Egypt's antiquities minister, Khaled El-Enany, described the cache as remarkable, both for the quantity of the items and the condition in which they were found. Although many of the tomb's wall paintings have decayed, researchers are excited by the freshness of the colors on the sarcophagi, which have retained their clarity and richness for centuries. El-Enany theorized that the tomb might have been used as a safe place to store the mummies and other grave goods.

The discovery is the latest in a run of archaeological breakthroughs in Egypt, which the minister believes could increase tourism. A nearly 30-foot statue of the seventh-century B.C. pharaoh Psamtik I was unearthed near Cairo recently. It is hoped that this find, together with that of Userhat's tomb, will give Egypt a much needed economic boost after years of violence and political upheaval. ■

Saigo Takamori: The Last Samurai

A leader of Japan's 19th-century drive to modernize, and at the same time a defender of its ancient samurai values, Saigo's dramatic last stand symbolized his nation's identity crisis.

The Samurai's Final Stand

1828

Saigo Takamori is born in Satsuma (modern-day Kagoshima) to a modest, but proud, samurai family.

1858

Following the death of his feudal lord, he is twice exiled to remote islands where he devotes himself to poetry, calligraphy, and meditation.

1868

Saigo leads the defeat of the shogunal forces in Edo (today's Tokyo), bringing about the Meiji Revolution.

1873

Disillusioned by state reforms, Saigo retires from politics. His military academy in Satsuma will become a focus of dissent.

1877

Saigo's rebellion is crushed. Legends suggest he carries out seppuku.

Samurai were a caste of warriors prevalent in Japanese society from the 12th to the 19th century. Respected for their military prowess, swordsmanship, and discipline, they valued honor, courage, and loyalty above all. Political change brought about the end of their era, but the samurai did not go down without a fight. They were led by Saigo Takamori, who both embraced and fought the forces of modernism and became one of Japan's great national heroes in the process.

Foreign Influences

In 1852 Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. Navy embarked on a mission to open Japan to the United States and the rest of the world. In an effort to keep out foreign influences and protect its culture, Japan had been under self-imposed isolation. Faced with Perry's warships, the Japanese saw they had no choice and opened their ports to the U.S. ships. Japan eventually signed the Treaty of Kanagawa, the first between the two nations. The controversial treaty revealed weaknesses in Japan's government, a military dictatorship known as the shogunate that had effectively ruled the nation as a feudal state since the early 17th century. Political revolution broke out in 1868, the shogunate fell from power, and Emperor Meiji took control. The capital moved from Kyoto to the old shogunal power center of Edo—renamed Tokyo ("the eastern capital").

The Meiji Restoration, as it came to be known, was about much more than a change in the system of government. Its leaders believed that Japan could only resist outsiders if it could match them. Modernization would be the key to protect their nation. Two centuries of isolation had rendered the state vulnerable to the outside world. "Enrich the country, strengthen the army," was the slogan of the Meiji restorationists. The new regime began dismantling the old feudal system and building a modern fighting force.

Not all Japanese, however, welcomed these dramatic changes. The Meiji reforms deeply split the samurai. Some supported this modern vision for Japan, seeing how it would help preserve national autonomy; but to other samurai, the tide of modernity threatened their very way of life. Saigo Takamori, a samurai hero who helped lead the Meiji revolt,

Saigo Takamori played a key role in restoring *de facto* power to the emperor in 1868.

THE EMPEROR MEIJI IN 1872, AGE 20. PHOTOGRAPH BY UCHIDA KUICHI
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

GARY CONNER/GETTY IMAGES

LARGER THAN LIFE

STANDING SIX FEET TALL, Saigo Takamori would not be considered an especially tall man now. But he was a giant compared with the Japanese average at that time, an effect heightened by his broad neck, square shoulders, and large, penetrating eyes with bristly eyebrows. He was known for outbursts of misanthropy—"that herd of wild beasts who call themselves human beings"—yet he could also be modest and self-effacing. His ideal was to be "a man who is utterly unconcerned with his life, fame, rank or money." A complex man for complex times.

BRONZE STATUE OF SAIGO TAKAMORI, DRESSED IN HUNTING GARB WITH HIS DOG (1898). UENO PARK, TOKYO

came to embody the deep conflict between old ways and new advances.

Birth of a Samurai

Born in 1828, Saigo hailed from Satsuma (modern-day Kagoshima), a *han* (fief) in southwestern Japan. His family was of modest means but deeply proud of their samurai lineage. He grew into an imposing figure, standing six feet tall and weighing about 200 pounds.

Saigo was not only a skilled warrior but also dedicated to the ideas of neo-Confucianism and Buddhism. He became widely admired for his incorruptibility and piety. For instance, when his daimyo (lord) suddenly died, Saigo decided to follow the ancient practice of *junshi*, whereby after a lord's death, a servant commits suicide. He and a friend jumped into a lake, and the current carried their bodies back to shore. His friend had drowned, but Saigo was revived. Each year, Saigo would think back on the event; on one occasion he wrote a Chinese poem to commemorate it: "Hand-in-hand, we leapt into the depths of the water . . . destiny thwarted my hopes and brought me back alive . . . Now the years have passed and I stand before your tomb, shedding vain tears."

The new daimyo of Satsuma was suspicious of this austere samurai's popularity and exiled Saigo to remote islands on two occasions. Saigo used these periods as opportunities to improve his calligraphy and Chinese poetry, practice sumo wrestling, and reflect on how corrupt and unjust Japan's shogunate system had become.

Saigo returned to Satsuma to play a leading role in the political and military

LAST STAND
Kumamoto Castle, scene of a battle during the 1877 Satsuma rebellion, in which besieging troops loyal to Saigo vainly attempted to starve out the state garrison
TPX/AGE FOTOSTOCK

struggles of the mid-19th century. In 1868 Saigo's troops occupied Edo, defeating the shogunate forces. As part of the package of reforms later introduced by Meiji, Japan's ancient feudal system of military government, *bakufu*, was abolished. The consequences of this reform would come back to haunt Saigo.

Cost of Modernization

Immediately after the reformation, Saigo went back to Satsuma, but in 1871 he returned to Tokyo as the head of the newly formed Imperial Guard. He felt out of step with the new ways in the capital.

Despising the craze for Western fashion, he continued to wear the traditional dress of his region, shod in sandals or clogs. It is said that on one occasion, as he was leaving his office in the middle of a storm, he removed his shoes and began to walk barefoot, which led a guard to believe he was an intruder.

Saigo was also increasingly uneasy about the new political measures the government was introducing. In 1871 the han system was abolished, and feudal lands passed into state ownership. The former regional governors were granted lifelong stipends and new government positions.

Abolishing the han system had grave implications for the samurai. It meant the end of their way of life. The stipends paid to them by their formal lords disappeared. The creation of the Japanese Imperial Army

IDENTITY CRISIS

SAIGO'S ATTITUDE toward Western modernity was ambivalent. He admitted that the telegraph, railroad, and steam engine were all "surprising inventions that would astound anyone," but he warned that blindly copying Western models would result in frivolity, corruption, and a fatal loss of national identity.

JAPANESE WOMEN IN AN 1887 PRINT BY TOYOHARA CHIKANOBU
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

THE SATSUMA REBELLION: SWORD AGAINST RIFLE?

THIS ENGRAVING, made in 1880, depicts the 1877 Battle of Shiroyama. The Japanese state cavalry, armed with rifles, tear into the sword-wielding samurai rebels led by Saigo Takamori. The Satsuma rebellion is often presented as an assault by modernity on the noble samurai tradition. This is an idealized view, as Saigo possessed modern weaponry. He had 30 mortars, two cannons, and thousands of Russian- and British-made rifles.

and the introduction of military conscription removed the need for their military service. For many, poverty loomed.

The samurai felt their status and prestige shrinking, as though they were becoming common citizens on a par with peasants. Banning their distinctive *chonmage* topknot, an 1871 edict decreed they had to wear their hair in Western fashion. By 1876 they were banned from carrying their swords in public. These measures were unacceptable to those who had fought to end the shogunate.

Saigo understood that Japan's modernization was inevitable, even desirable, but he could not betray those who had fought under him. In desperation, he backed war with Korea in 1873, in hopes of reviving the samurai spirit through combat. After his proposal was rejected, Saigo resigned and returned to Satsuma where he set up a military academy.

Many young samurai were attracted to Saigo's school. By 1877 he had an estimated 20,000 students. The popularity of his school fueled government suspicion that Saigo wasn't running a simple school; he was training an army to launch a rebellion. When the government tried to confiscate weapons from Satsuma's arsenal in 1877, the samurai took up arms and did indeed rebel.

Glory in Defeat

Saigo planned an attack on Tokyo, but his troops were rebuffed and withdrew to Satsuma, where they sought refuge on Mount Shiroyama. By September 22 they were surrounded. Saigo informed his troops that this would be their final battle and enjoined them to die bravely. He then decided to go and meet his destiny: Sources describe him as dressed in an austere yellow kimono, saber in hand. He charged down the hillside with a few last fighters. He was wounded by a bullet in his right thigh, felled by the modern army he had helped create.

According to tradition, he fell to the ground and told one of his fellow fighters: "Right here should do. Please do me the honor of decapitating me." Although some dispute this theory, one account describes how he slowly sat up, looked in the direction of the Imperial Palace, solemnly gripped his dagger, and performed ritual disembowelment on himself—seppuku—before his head was cut off by a follower. The extent of the defeat suffered by the samurai cause was almost total. But his dignity and courage in facing the classic Japanese conflict between the quality of *giri* (duty) and *ninjo* (human instinct) has made him a national hero.

—Arturo Galindo García

Who Was That Masked Man?

Tales of a prisoner wearing an iron mask swirled around France during the reign of King Louis XIV. Rumor became legend after Alexandre Dumas put this enigmatic character at the end of his *Three Musketeers* saga, raising more questions about his true identity.

Whispers of a mysterious man began to spread through France in the 1680s. Details were hazy, but the tale was arresting: An anonymous prisoner had been locked up on the express orders of the French king Louis XIV. His identity was unknown, and his face could not be seen because he was forced to wear an iron mask.

A gazette from 1687 mentions the prisoner's transfer to the citadel of Sainte-Marguerite, a tiny Mediterranean island off the coast of Cannes in southern France, in the custody of a former musketeer, Bénigne de Saint-Mars. Both guard and his prisoner had previously lived at the fortresses of Pignerol and Exilles in the Alps.

The pair moved again in 1698, when Saint-Mars was appointed governor of the Bastille prison in Paris. The mysterious prisoner's arrangements had not changed from earlier accounts: A Bastille official wrote in his memoirs of his surprise at the arrival of his new superior who was accompanied by a man "who is always masked and whose name is never pronounced."

The life of this mysterious inmate ended in 1703 when he died in the Bastille. It is recorded that a man in his 50s was buried at the Saint-Paul Cemetery in Paris; his belongings and clothes were burned at dawn. It was said that the walls of his cell were scraped and whitewashed.

Conspiracy Theories

The mysterious prisoner lived during the reign of Louis XIV. To his supporters, Louis was *le Roi Soleil*—the Sun King—in whose reign France expanded and strengthened her borders. To his detractors, he was a near tyrant, whose belief in absolutism—the idea that he ruled as God's representative on Earth—had turned France into a police state.

After his death, the unknown prisoner's story began to take on a life of its own as gossips said that his punishment stemmed directly from the French throne. From the very outset, the "masked man" stories were more than just lurid tales: They played directly into anti-Louis propaganda. During the Nine Years' War (1688–1697) the Dutch, fighting to protect their republic from French expansion, exploited the rumor to undermine the legitimacy of Louis XIV. Agents of the Dutch spread claims that the masked prisoner was a

A COVER-UP This 1789 engraving names the prisoner as the Count of Vermandois, Louis XIV's illegitimate son—just one among many imaginative theories as to the masked man's identity. Carnavalet Museum, Paris.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

CRUEL AND UNUSUAL

LIFE AT PIGNEROL for those who had displeased Louis XIV was unremittingly bleak. The conditions imposed by Governor Bénigne de Saint-Mars on a nobleman, the Duke of Lauzun, for instance, were a kind of living death: no visitors, no contact with other inmates, no books, and no exercise.

AN EFFIGY OF LOUIS XIV ON A BRONZE MEDAL

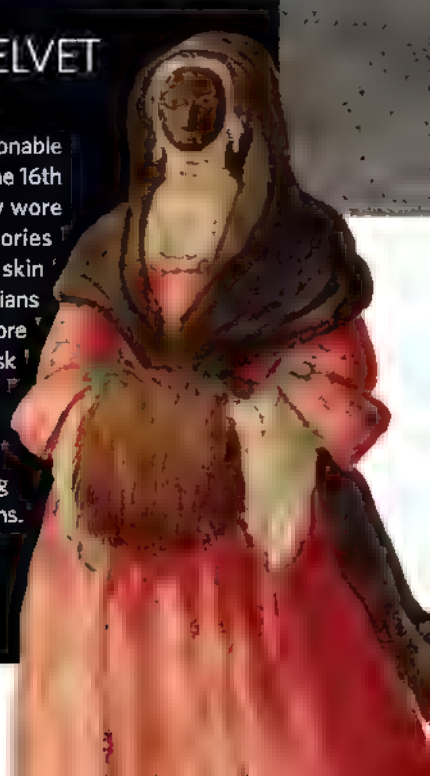
CAPTURE IMAGES/ALBUM

former lover of the queen mother, and was the king's real father—which would make Louis illegitimate.

In France itself, suspicions about the man's identity fell on several members of the extensive royal family. There was speculation that he was Louis de Bourbon, Count of Vermandois, son of the Sun King himself and his mistress Louise de La Vallière. Louis de Bourbon had been banished from court after being outed as a homosexual. De Bourbon then tried to regain his father's favor in campaigns in Flanders, where he fell ill and almost certainly died. Conspiracy theorists speculated that he had, in fact, survived and was secretly imprisoned by his father.

TOUCH OF VELVET

VELVET MASKS were fashionable for European women in the 16th and 17th centuries. They wore them not only as accessories but also to protect their skin from the sun. Many historians believe Louis's prisoner wore not an iron but a velvet mask like these. They also think he wore it infrequently, most likely to keep his identity a secret when being transferred between prisons.



A VENETIAN WOMAN WEARING A MASK. 18TH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATION SCALA, FLORENCE

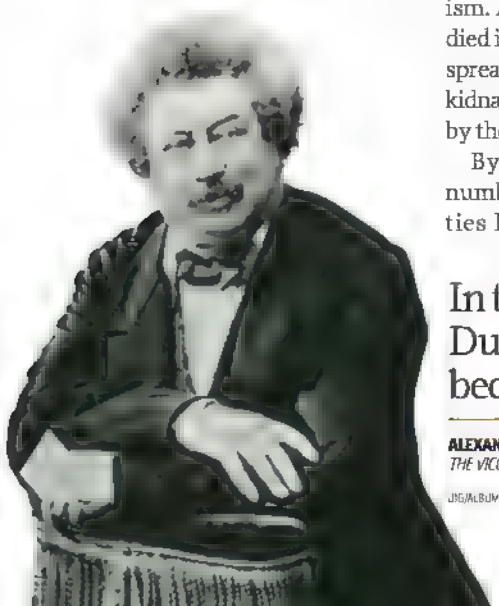
THE PIGNEROL FORTRESS, today in Italy, was occupied by France in 1630, an event depicted in this oil painting. Several political prisoners were later held here under Louis XIV. Palace of Versailles.

GERARD BLOT/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Tall Tales

Another candidate for the masked man was François de Bourbon, Duke of Beaufort. A cousin of the king, François had been one of the leaders of the Fronde, the faction that conspired against the king early in his reign and hardened his tendency toward absolutism. Although François later died in battle, gossipmongers spread the (unlikely) tale of his kidnapping and imprisonment by the king.

By the 18th century the number of possible identities kept increasing. Some said the man in the iron mask was a bastard son of Anne of Austria (Louis's mother) and half brother to the king. Some pamphleteers imagined that the mask was Louis XIV's punishment for the lovers of his wife, Marie-Thérèse of Austria. One particularly fantastic suggestion is that the man was one Nabo, a pygmy page who had supposedly impregnated Louis's queen.



In the hands of novelist Alexandre Dumas, the Man in the Iron Mask became an enduring legend.

ALEXANDRE DUMAS, AUTHOR OF *THE THREE MUSKETEERS,* CONTINUED D'ARTAGNAN'S EXPLOITS IN *THE VICOMTE OF BRAGELONNE* (1847-1850) WHICH FEATURED THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK.

JSG/ALBUM

To Enlightenment thinkers the masked man was a potent symbol of oppression and tyranny, the embodiment of the Sun King's worst vices. Among the most influential of these thinkers was Voltaire, who suggested the prisoner was a brother of Louis XIV. Whereas earlier sources had described a mask of cloth or velvet, Voltaire specified that the mask was made of iron and gave specific details of this cruel contraption: "the chin of [the mask] was composed of steel springs, which gave him liberty to eat with it on."

Voltaire was imprisoned in the Bastille in 1717 and claimed

Serialization, Stage, and Screen

POPULARIZED in *The Vicomte of Bragelonne* in the mid-1800s, elements of Alexandre Dumas's story of the masked prisoner inspired later playwrights and movie directors. These, in turn, introduced all kinds of fanciful variations, including love stories and revenge plots that have little to do with the reality of 17th-century French politics.

Novel. Dumas's tale presents the mysterious masked man as Louis XIV's twin brother, cruelly hidden from sight.

Theater. A poster advertising an adaptation of Dumas's book in a London theater in 1899. It was performed 69 times in three months.

Cinema. The 1929 movie directed by Allan Dwan is a forerunner to the swashbuckling 1998 film *The Man in the Iron Mask*.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: AGE FOTOSTOCK; BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY; BRIDGEMAN ART

that he had heard the prisoner's story from the oldest inmates. He described him as "an unknown prisoner, of majestic height, young, of a graceful and noble figure." He was unquestionably important, his manners were refined, and he played the guitar. He was served fine food, kept away from any contact with the other prisoners, and was only visited by the governor.

From Romance to Rigor

French novelist Alexandre Dumas took Voltaire's description and used it as the basis for a secondary character in *The Vicomte of Bragelonne* (published in serialized form from 1847 to 1850). This massive book was the last in a series of novels that began with *The Three Musketeers*. Its ending centered on the mysterious man in the iron mask.

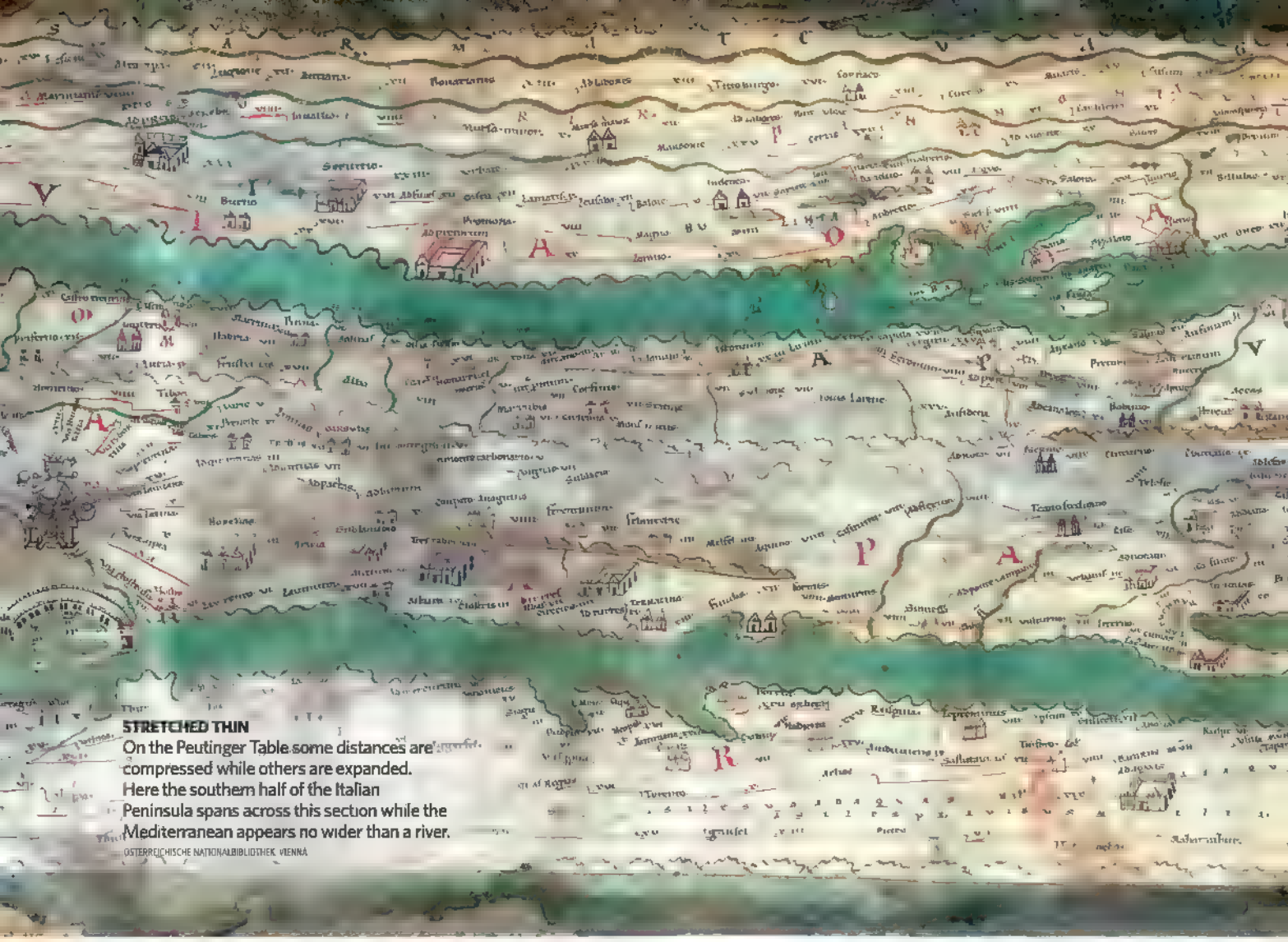
Dumas's version puts forward what became the most popular theory of the prisoner's identity: Louis XIV's twin brother, Philippe, who had been born first and jeopardized the Sun King's legitimacy. This theory gained traction in the 20th century when several popular Hollywood films depicted the tale of the unjustly imprisoned twin brother.

In recent years historians have put forward other more plausible candidates, including Nicolas Fouquet, the powerful superintendent of finances. After being found guilty of treason and corruption, he was imprisoned in the Fortress of Pignerol, the same location where Saint-Mars first guarded the mysterious masked prisoner. Fouquet died there in 1680, and there is no indication that he was ever transferred to the Bastille

Many other historians favor a much more unassuming character: Eustache Dauger, arrested for an unknown crime in 1669 and also held in the Fortress of Pignerol. It is believed that Dauger worked as a valet who served Nicolas Fouquet—and may have learned of sensitive information while in Fouquet's service. During his imprisonment, Dauger was transferred to several sites, always accompanied by Saint-Mars.

Historians even believe the iron mask itself was an exaggeration. It was not iron at all, but black velvet. And it was most likely worn only at very specific times, such as transferal from one prison to another. Perhaps it was a glimpse of such a man, when coupled with the tense atmosphere in France, that snowballed to become the intriguing legend known today.

—Carlos Blanco Fernández



STRETCHED THIN
On the Peutinger Table some distances are compressed while others are expanded. Here the southern half of the Italian Peninsula spans across this section while the Mediterranean appears no wider than a river.
ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA

The Peutinger Table: All Roads Lead to Rome

A letterbox view of the classical world, the immensely long and narrow Peutinger Table is a medieval copy of a Roman road map from Britain to India. Teeming with cities, seas, and rivers, its proudest feature is the empire's roads: 70,000 Roman miles of them.

At first, a modern viewer might struggle to make sense of this map. At 22 feet, it is long for a map—but it is barely 14 inches high. Peer closer, and familiar European place-names can be picked out, such as Roma at the very center. Little by little, the viewer realizes that Europe and Asia have been squeezed down into a narrow corridor; the snaking waterways that look like canals are, in fact, different parts of the Mediterranean, and a delicate web of parallel red lines is a colossal network of roads.

Although it resembles nothing like the clear outline of a modern map of the region, the Peutinger Table is a snapshot of how Romans viewed their world, one in which they were at the center. Their zone of influence stretched from Britain to India, connected by the Roman Empire's signature innovation, roads.

Measuring the World

The Peutinger Table is a copy of a Roman map thought to have been made in the mid-1200s by a monk in the city of

Colmar, in what is today northeastern France. The copy was found in the 15th century and bequeathed to the German scholar and bibliophile Conrad Peutinger, for whom it is named.

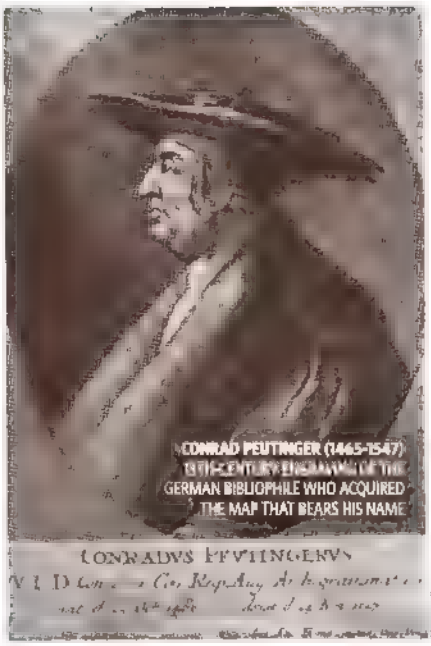
The map consists of 12 sections in total, 11 of which are on display in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. The 12th section, corresponding to Hispania (Spain) and the British Isles, is the only missing part of the masterpiece.

The original map is thought to have been produced in the fourth century A.D., partly because it features the city of Constantinople, which was founded in 330. Although scholars cannot be sure how faithful the 13th-century copy is to the original, this unique artifact offers a wealth of insight into the Roman worldview and is an essential subject in the study of ancient cartography.

The Routes of Power

All maps have different points of view. They emphasize certain types of information in favor of others, some of which may even be omitted. For example, Greek maps tended to focus on elements that showed scientific knowledge, while Roman maps highlighted the practical. They served to keep track of the network of roads that connected different parts of the empire.

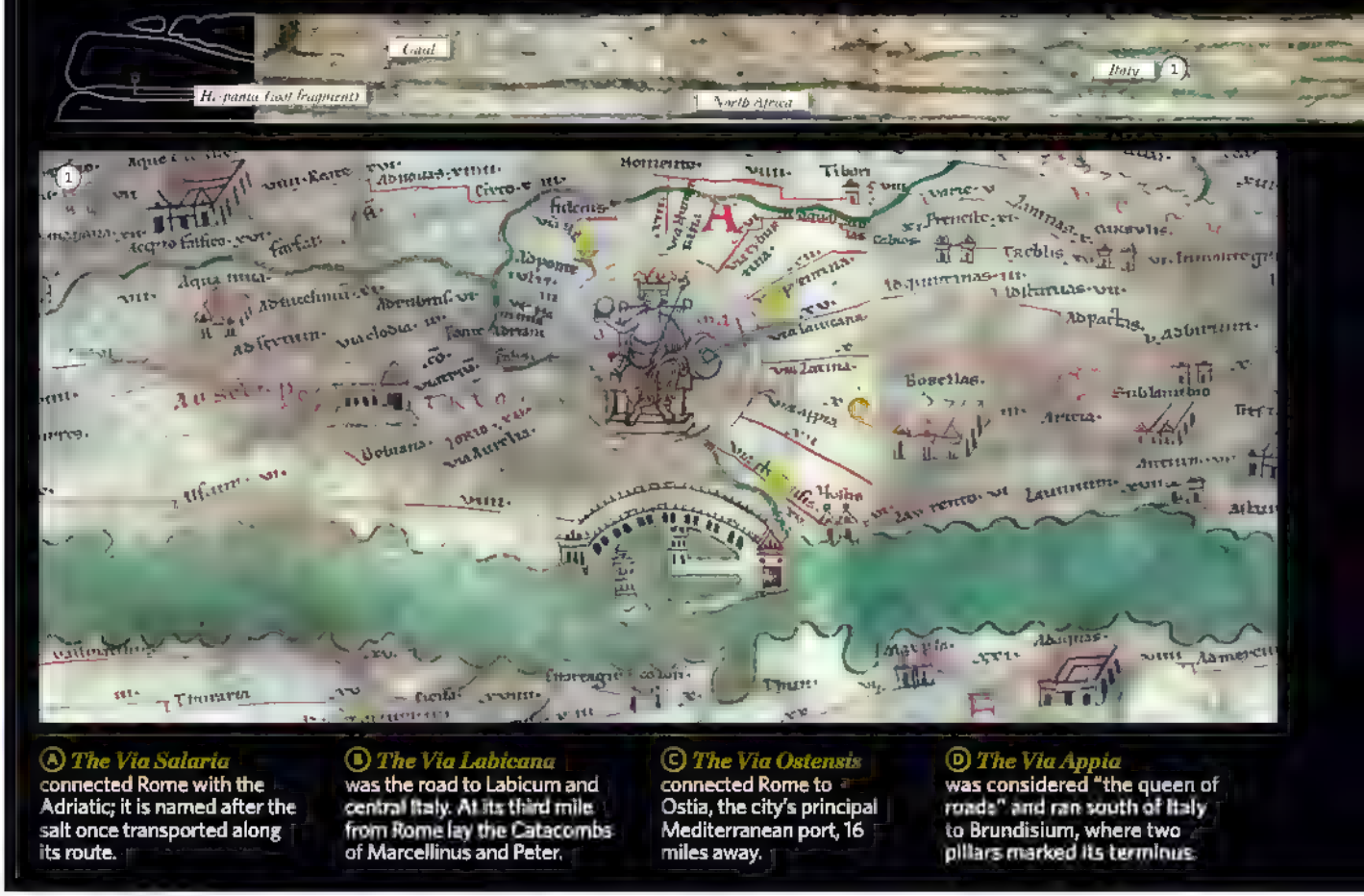
Roman maps like these were called *itineraria*. There were two kinds: The *itineraria adnotata* resembled charts that listed the roads, the stations along them, and the distances in between. The best known of these is the third-century Antonine Itinerary, which includes a "road map" of Roman Britain. The second category of maps, to which the Peutinger Table belongs, were more visual—the *itineraria picta*.



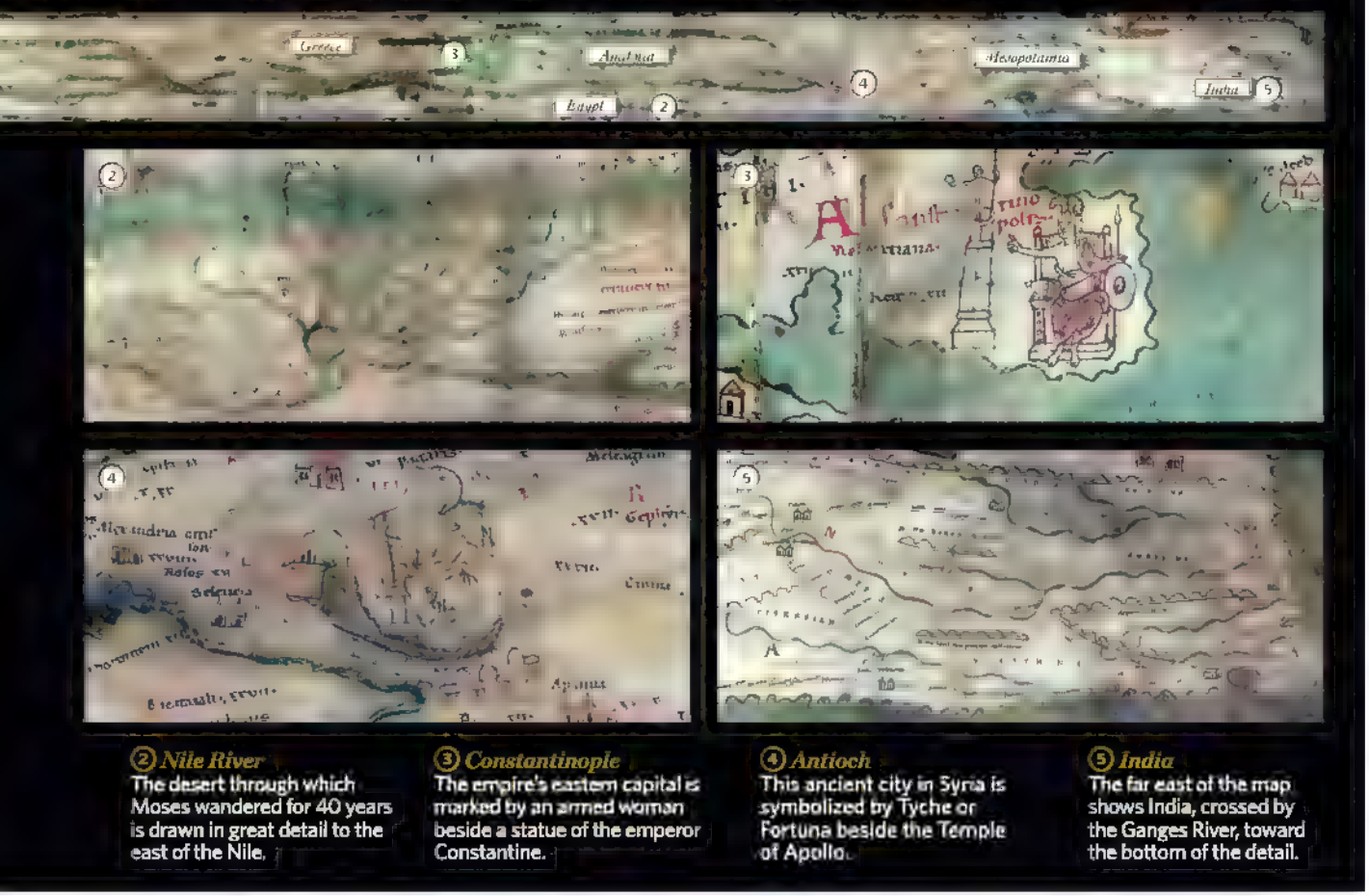
CONRAD PEUTINGER (1465-1547), 16TH-CENTURY ENGRAVING OF THE GERMAN BIBLIOPHILE WHO ACQUIRED THE MAP THAT BEARS HIS NAME

Rome's Map of the Known World

THE PEUTINGER TABLE charts the roads that connected Rome with the world it dominated, from Spain in


Gaul
Hispania (last fragment)
North Africa
Italy
1
Tiber
Roma
Ostia
Laurentum
Tibur
Praeneste
Bovillae
Aricia
Lavinium
Ardea
Sublaqueo
Treblis
Abparbis
Asburum
Lavicana
Via Appia
Via Ostiensis
Via Laurentina
Via Labicana
Via Salaria
Via Nomentana
Via Tiburtina
Via Praenestina
Via Gabina
Via Collatina
Via Nomentana
Via Salaria
Via Pinciana
Via Flaminia
Via Cassia
Via Aurelia
Via Portuensis
Via Ostiensis
Via Appia
Via Ardeatina
Via Laurentina

the west to the far-flung lands conquered by Alexander the Great.



② Nile River
The desert through which Moses wandered for 40 years is drawn in great detail to the east of the Nile.

③ Constantinople
The empire's eastern capital is marked by an armed woman beside a statue of the emperor Constantine.

④ Antioch
This ancient city in Syria is symbolized by Tyche or Fortuna beside the Temple of Apollo.

⑤ India
The far east of the map shows India, crossed by the Ganges River, toward the bottom of the detail.

A note in the far east, in modern-day Tajikistan, marks the traditional spot where Alexander the Great was asked by an oracular voice as to how much farther he intended to expand his empire: *"Accepit usque quo Alexander?"*—Until where, Alexander?" Scholars believe this note is a medieval addition to the map, an ironic comment on the futility of imperialism added to a work that is glorifying the reach of empire.

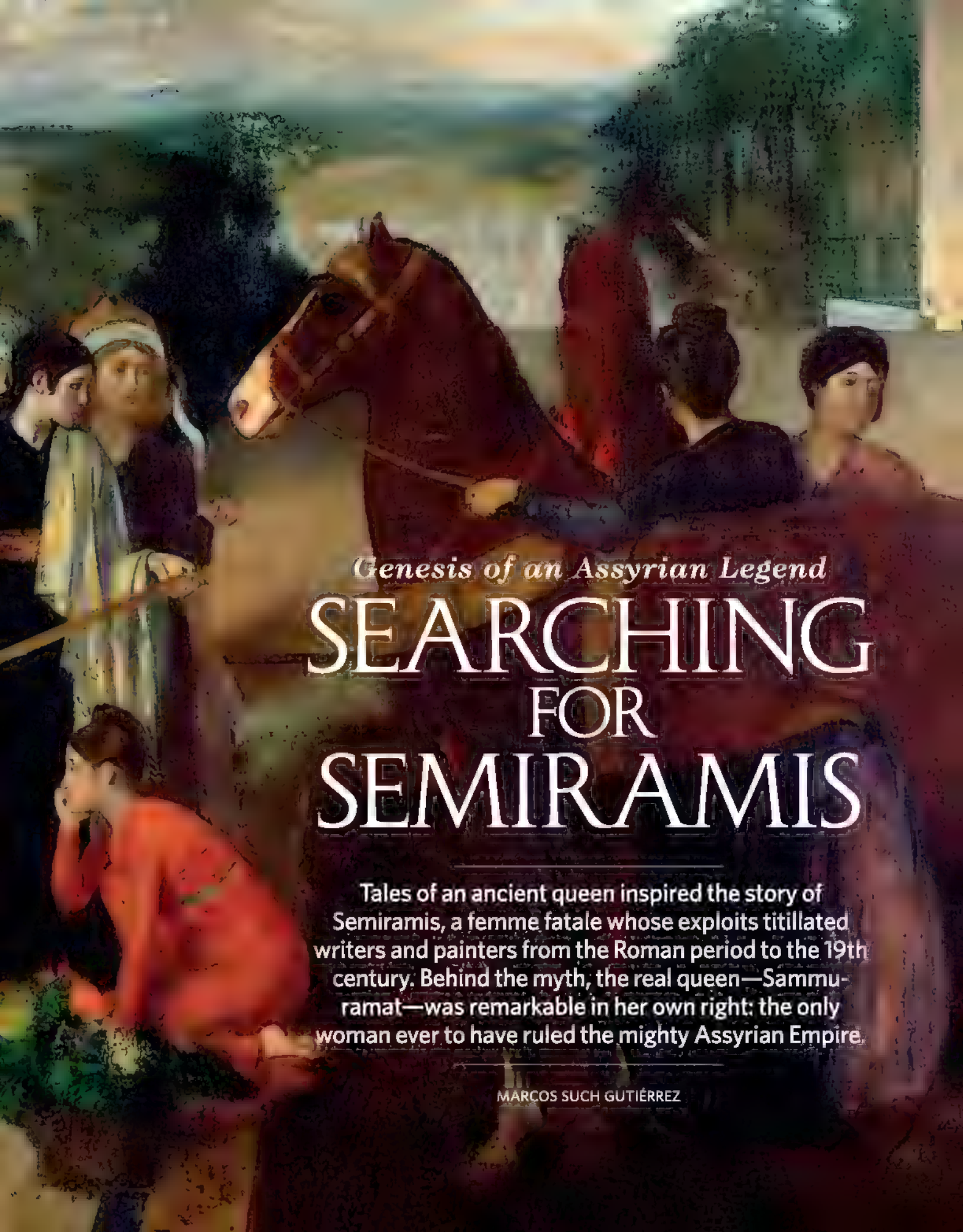
The center of this glory is, of course, Rome. It is represented by an enthroned figure holding a globe, a spear, and a shield: Rome is the *caput mundi* (capital of the world) to where all roads lead. Special emphasis is also given to two cities in the east, Constantinople and Antioch, although they are depicted as smaller than Rome. Interestingly, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Oplontis—cities destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in the first century A.D.—are shown. Their inclusion shows that, although the original map dates from the fourth century, it may have been based on earlier maps.

The Great Highway

The most important feature of the map are roads—70,000 Roman miles of them, many more than the Antonine Itinerary, all marked out in red. However, it is not possible to calculate real road distances or geographical scale from the map. The Peutinger Table also has a loose relationship with the cardinal points of the compass: The Nile River, for example, flows from west to east, instead of from south to north.

All of these features can be explained by what is known as "the hodological concept" (from the Greek word *hodós*, meaning "road"). To the Romans, the road network defined the space in which their empire had expanded. Modern ideas about latitude and longitude are not relevant here, because its spaces are represented as horizontal and linear—almost like a highway itself.

—Amanda Castelló



Genesis of an Assyrian Legend

SEARCHING FOR SEMIRAMIS

Tales of an ancient queen inspired the story of Semiramis, a femme fatale whose exploits titillated writers and painters from the Roman period to the 19th century. Behind the myth, the real queen—Sammu-ramat—was remarkable in her own right: the only woman ever to have ruled the mighty Assyrian Empire.

MARCOS SUCH GUTIÉRREZ

MIGHTY HUNTRESS

Inspired by legends about the fierce Assyrian queen, 17th-century painter Louis de Caullery depicts Semiramis hunting a lion, a symbol of royalty, in front of the gates of Babylon Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France

AGENCE BULLOZ/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Female rulers in ancient Mesopotamia were rare. But those who did rule made their mark on history. In the Neo-Assyrian regime of the ninth century B.C., one woman commanded an entire empire stretching from Asia Minor to what is today western Iran. She was Sammu-ramat, thought to mean "high heaven." Her five-year rule, while brief, appears to have inspired long-lasting respect among her subjects and the world.

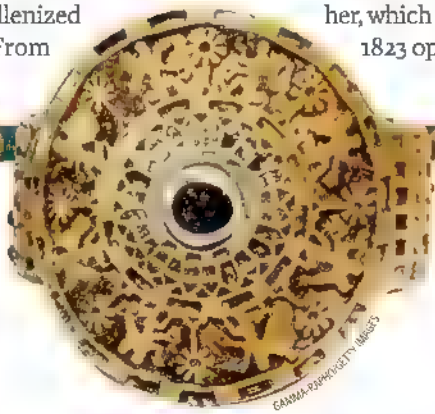
Centuries after her reign, Greek writers, and historians focused on Sammu-ramat and her achievements. They hellenized her name to Semiramis. From here, the Assyrian queen passed from the world of facts into the realm of legend. Some cast her as a beautiful femme fatale in a tragic love story. Classical authors attributed great accomplishments to Semiramis: commander of armies, and builder of the walls of Babylon and monuments throughout her empire.

Her allure did not diminish with time. She later inspired the Italian medieval poet Dante, who placed her in his *Inferno* where she is punished for her "sensual vices." The French Enlightenment writer Voltaire wrote a tragedy about her, which was later made into Rossini's 1823 opera, *Semiramide*.

LIFE AND LEGENDS

823-811 B.C.

Grandson of Ashurnasirpal II, Shamshi-Adad V secures Assyria by defeating his rebellious older brother. He marries **Sammu-ramat**, who will bear his heir, Adad-nirari



GAMMA-RAPHO/GETTY IMAGES

810-783 B.C.

Queen Sammu-ramat is widowed and becomes queen regent for the first five years of her son's, **Adad-nirari III,** reign. Inscriptions credit her with advising her young son while on a military campaign

GOLD BRACELET DISCOVERED IN NIMRUD, NINTH CENTURY B.C.

Real Power

The true story of the flesh-and-blood Sammu-ramat remains elusive. The question lingers: What did she achieve 2,800 years ago that so fascinated the world and allowed romantic legends to sprout around her legacy?

Archaeologists have found four principal artifacts that offer at least some evidence to piece together her biography. In the ancient city of Nimrud (in modern-day Iraq), two statues dedicated to Nabu, the Babylonian god of knowledge and writing, mention her name. There are also two stelae, one from Kizkapanli,a town in present-day Turkey, and the other from Assur in Iraq, that mention her. Taken together, the four inscriptions establish at least the bare bones of her story: The queen definitely lived in the Assyrian Empire between the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., was married to King Shamshi-Adad V, who reigned from 823 to 811 B.C., and was the mother of King Adad-nirari III.

With these key facts in place, historians have formed a clearer idea of her significance, and know that she entered Assyrian history at a critical moment for the empire. Her husband was the grandson of Assyria's great ruler, Ashur-nasirpal II, a flamboyant monarch who built a magnificent palace at Nimrud in the early ninth

1st CENTURY B.C.

The Greek author **Diodorus Siculus** writes his work *Bibliotheke* in which he delivers a detailed yet embellished biography of Sammu-ramat, using the Greek version of her name: Semiramis.

14th CENTURY A.D.

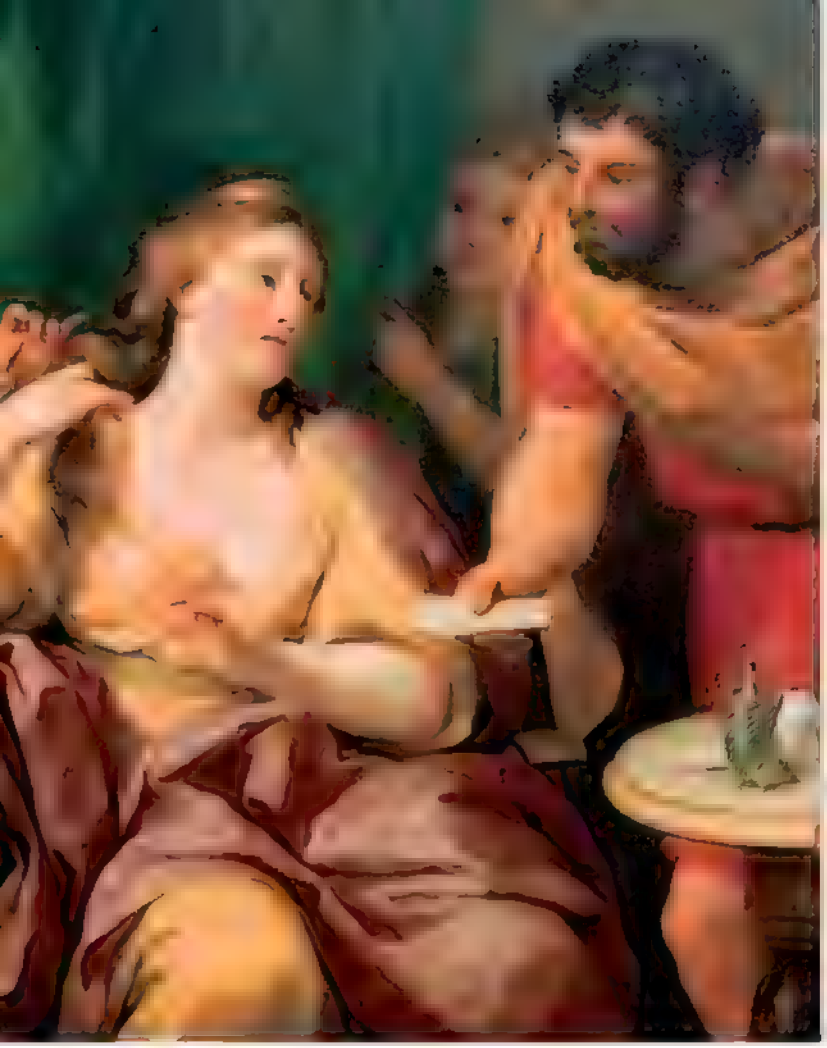
Semiramis's legendary reputation for sexual promiscuity grows over the centuries. **Dante Alighieri,** in *The Divine Comedy*, places her in the second circle of hell, condemned there for eternity for her carnal desires.

1748

Voltaire writes his tragedy *Sémiramis*. The work will serve as a model for the libretto of the opera composed by Gioacchino Rossini in 1823, *Semiramide*.

SHAMSHI-ADAD V NINTH-CENTURY B.C. STELA FOUND IN THE TEMPLE OF NABU, NIMRUD, IRAQ

ZEV RADOVAN/BIBLESEARCH



THE QUEEN'S CHAMBERS

A 1756 painting by Anton Raphael Mengs (above) shows Semiramis receiving news of a revolt while still in her boudoir, combining her roles as woman and leader. Neues Schloss Museum, Bayreuth, Germany

AKG/ALBUM

FIT TO BE QUEEN

VIRTUES AND VICES

Semiramis of myth was a ruler who not only governed with strength but also made legendary use of her beauty to govern. Echoing a first-century A.D. work by the Roman author Valerius Maximus, 14th-century Italian poet Giovanni Boccaccio relates how the queen faced very serious civil unrest in Babylon.

Having received news of a revolt while getting dressed, she "threw aside her comb and instantly rose in anger from her womanly pursuits, took up arms, and led her troops to a siege of the powerful city. She did not finish arranging her hair until she had forced the surrender of that powerful place." To Boccaccio, her decisiveness in crisis exemplifies the queen's fitness to rule. He ascribes traditional masculine qualities to her and even describes how she handles weapons with a "manly spirit." Later in his tale, however—when Semiramis begins to lose power in her role as regent, and starts to compete with her growing son, Ninias—Boccaccio depicts her as a threatened figure who sets aside the "manly" virtues and instead succumbs to the vices of duplicitousness, greed, and sexual immorality.

century B.C. This event is commemorated by the Banquet Stela, which recorded thousands of guests and a celebration that lasted for 10 days. Ashurnasirpal II stabilized the empire, putting down revolts with a level of cruelty that he made no attempt to hide. One inscription tells of the vengeance meted to rebels at one particular city of his realm:

> *I had a column built at the city gate and I flayed all the leaders who had rebelled and I covered the column with their skins. Some, I impaled upon the column on stakes and others I bound to stakes around it.*

The Assyrian Empire had been enriched by one of the queen's predecessors—Ashurnasirpal II, the flamboyant and cruel founder of Nimrud.

The empire that Ashurnasirpal II's grandson inherited may have been stable and wealthy, but it did not stay that way for long. King Shamshi-Adad V appears to have spent a great deal of resources in defeating his rebellious elder brother, who wanted to take the throne. By the time Shamshi-Adad died in 811 B.C., the empire was financially and politically weakened. His young son, Adad-nirari III, was too young to rule. It would be left to Queen Sammu-ramat to restore stability to Assyria through her regency.

From Memory to Myth

Although the four main sources do not spell out whether she claimed the regency, the inscriptions make it clear that Sammu-ramat exercised a degree of political power—unlike that of any other woman in the history of Mesopotamia. The stela from the city of Kizkapanli, for example, mentions that the queen accompanied her son when he crossed the Euphrates River to fight against the king of the Assyrian city of Arpad. Her presence was unusual for the time, and the fact that the stela

bothers to mention her participation gives Sammu-ramat's actions a strong degree of honor and respect.

By the time Adad-nirari III came of age (he would reign until 783 B.C.), Sammu-ramat had impressed her subjects with her strength and steadiness, as the stela at Assur shows. Its inscription places her almost on a par with male rulers and is dedicated to "Sammu-ramat, Queen of Shamshi-Adad, King of the Universe, King of Assyria; Mother of Adad-nirari, King of the Universe, King of Assyria."

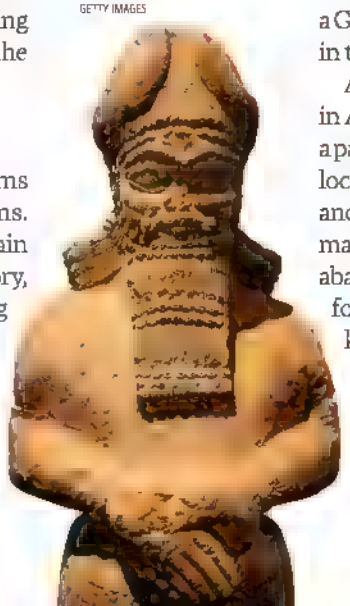
The Legend Begins

After Sammu-ramat's death, her name seems to have echoed down through the generations. In a society with a rich oral tradition, a certain amount of embellishment crept into her story, which seemed to grow larger from one telling to the next. In the fifth century B.C. the great classical historian Herodotus perpetuated the memory of this queen using the Greek form of her name: Semiramis. It is by this name that she is best known today.

WRITTEN RECORDS

Found at Nimrud, this statue of Nabu, the god of writing, bears an inscription referring to Queen Sammu-ramat. British Museum, London

GETTY IMAGES



It was Diodorus Siculus, a Greek scholar writing in the Roman world of Julius Caesar and Augustus, who solidified much of Semiramis's legend. His colossal, semi-historical work *Bibliotheke* surveys events from creation myths to his own day and age. In it he offers a detailed, if somewhat fantastic, narrative of the Assyrian queen. Some of Diodorus Siculus's work is based on a previous, now lost text by Ctesias of Cnidus, a Greek doctor who had served the Persian court in the fourth century B.C.

According to Diodorus, Semiramis was born in Ashkelon (in present-day Israel), the fruit of a pairing between the Syrian goddess Derceto (a local version of the Phoenician goddess Astarte and the Babylonian Ishtar) and a young Syrian man. Ashamed of the relationship, the goddess abandoned the baby girl, who at first was cared for by doves. Later, the chief shepherd of the king of Assyria ended up adopting the child and giving her the name Semiramis.

Semiramis grew into a young woman of extraordinary beauty. The royal governor of the province of Syria, named Onnes, was

SEMIRAMIS IN DANTE'S *INFERNO*, 19TH-CENTURY PAINTING BY JOSÉ CASADO DEL ALISAL. FACULTAD DE BELLAS ARTES, MADRID

IBERIONOZ/ALBUM

THE SECOND CIRCLE OF HELL

EMPRESS OF THE INFERNO

There is a dark side to the legend of Semiramis. Some authors presented her as a dangerous sexual temptress, including the fifth-century theologian Orosius, who declared her so corrupt that she legalized incest. In his great 14th-century poem *The Divine Comedy*, Dante Alighieri draws on these traditions, including the cosmopolitan nature of Semiramis's realms ("Empress . . . of many languages"). Dante places the queen in the second circle of hell, reserved for those who had committed the sin of lust, whom he likens to flocks of birds. With Semiramis are other temptresses: Helen of Troy and Cleopatra. Dante's guide, the poet Virgil, describes the Assyrian queen with these words:

The empress was of many languages.
To sensual vices she was so abandoned,
That lustful she made licit in her law,
To remove the blame to which she had been led
She is Semiramis, of whom we read
That she succeeded Ninus, and was his spouse;
She held the land which now the Sultan rules.

Inferno (Canto V)

struck by her beauty when he met her while inspecting the royal flocks. Onnes obtained her adoptive father's consent to marry her. After the wedding, he took Semiramis with him to Nineveh. Later, Onnes was sent to besiege the city of Bactra in central Asia. Missing his wife, he asked that she come to join him there. Not only did Semiramis travel to this remote spot to be with her husband, she also came up with a winning strategy that made the besieged city surrender.

When he learned of this amazing feat, the Assyrian king wanted to meet the heroine and had her brought before him. According to Diodorus Siculus, the king's name was Ninus (Nineveh was supposedly named after him). Ninus fell in love with Semiramis at first sight and ordered Onnes to trade his wife for one of Ninus's daughters. Onnes boldly refused but was subjected to so many threats by King Ninus that he finally committed suicide. The widowed Semiramis married Ninus and became the queen of Assyria.

DEMIGODDESS

Diodorus Siculus wrote that Semiramis was the daughter of a deity associated with the Babylonian goddess of love, Ishtar, shown on this eighth-century B.C. stela. Louvre Museum, Paris

E. LESSING/ALBUM

Within a few years of the marriage, King Ninus died. At this point, Diodorus Siculus's version of the queen's life converges with her historical one: Semiramis took personal charge of the government, acting as regent to her son, who was still a child.

Builder and Commander

According to the Greek historians, the new queen's ambitious building projects earned admiration for her rule. Setting out to emulate the agenda of her late husband, she is said to have ordered a new city to be built on the banks of the Euphrates—Babylon. Diodorus Siculus even suggests that Semiramis erected not only the city but also its other features: the royal palace, the temple of Marduk, and the city walls. Other Greco-Roman authors, including Strabo, claimed that Semiramis had been behind the fabulous hanging gardens of Babylon, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The historical evidence in no way supports their claims.

Diodorus Siculus tells how, after the construction of Babylon, Semiramis launched several military campaigns to quash uprisings in Persia to the east and in Libya in North Africa. Later, Semiramis organized the most notable and difficult campaign of all: an invasion of India. But despite her careful planning, the invasion was a disaster, and the queen was injured.

During her campaign in Africa, Semiramis had stopped in Egypt and consulted the oracle of the god Amun, which prophesied that her son Ninias would conspire against her and kill her. Following the failed conquest in India, the prophecy came true. According to Diodorus, Semiramis's son Ninias was plotting against her to seize the throne. But in this telling of her life, she wisely decided not to fight her son. Instead she peacefully ceded power to him.

Other histories provide different endings. The first-century A.D. Roman author Gaius Julius Hyginus tells that the legendary queen killed herself by throwing herself onto a burning pyre. Third-century Roman historian Justin claimed that Semiramis was indeed killed by her son.

Ingredients for a Good Tale

The legend of Semiramis presents clear parallels with other ancient myths from antiquity. Her divine origins echo that of heroes such as Hercules. Her abandonment as a baby is reminiscent of the story told of the infancy of King Sargon of Akkad, as well as the biblical Book of Exodus, in which Moses is abandoned as a baby and found by the daughter of the pharaoh. Semiramis's consultation of Amun and her attempt to invade India, were both exploits that Alexander the Great undertook, tales very familiar to Diodorus.

Queen Sammu-ramat of history begat Queen Semiramis of legend, whose civic accomplishments are lauded on the same level as her beauty. What stands out is how both the woman and the myth were celebrated for things traditionally associated with male rulers: scoring military triumphs, building architectural wonders, and ruling with wisdom.

A SPECIALIST IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT ASSYRIA, MARCOS SUCH GUTIÉRREZ TEACHES AT THE AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF MADRID, SPAIN.

GARDEN CITY

Tradition holds that Semiramis built the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. If such gardens existed, they were most likely in Nineveh, whose lush landscaping features on this seventh-century B.C. panel (above). British Museum, London

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

ALTERNATE ENDINGS

EARLY VERSIONS of the Semiramis story, such as that by Diodorus Siculus, recount that the queen dies a natural death, having shown wisdom in her later years. She has made peace with her son Ninias: "Some . . . say that she turned into a dove and flew off in the company of many birds . . . and this, they say, is the reason why the Assyrians worship the dove as a god."

OTHER VERSIONS offer a more lurid end for the Assyrian queen. In the 1748 drama *Sémiramis* by Voltaire, the queen welcomes the young general Arsaces, with whom she has fallen in love, only to discover, to her horror, that he is her own son Ninias. The young man has received an oracle urging him to avenge the death of his father, Ninus, whom Semiramis has had killed. When the queen visits Ninus's tomb, her son runs her through with a sword.

SEMIRAMIS, LYING DEAD BEFORE THE TOMB OF NINUS, PAINTING BY AUGUSTO VALLI, 1893.

THE MIGHTY FALLEN

The Obelisks of Ancient Egypt
REACH UP FOR THE SUNRISE
ELISA CASTEL

A MONUMENT IS BORNE
Workmen transport a small obelisk on their backs in this scene from the 18th-dynasty tomb of Horemheb in Saqqara, near Memphis. Civic Museum, Bologna

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

One of the oldest and most iconic structures of ancient Egypt is the obelisk. A rising tower of stone, it was designed to astound mortals with its height and impress the immortals with praise. A colossal investment in labor, resources, and engineering was required to build them. Their forms projected potent religious and political symbolism, and their surfaces were covered with writings. So impressive were these stone structures that other civilizations took them back to their lands to show their people the splendor that was ancient Egypt.

Great Gig in the Sky

An Egyptian obelisk is a four-sided monolith made from a block of stone that tapers toward its peak. The actual word for obelisk in the ancient Egyptian language is *tejen*. Like the term "pyramid," the term "obelisk" is derived from the Greek. *Obelískos* is the diminutive form of *obelós*, a pointed column or mast.

Obelisks are crowned with a familiar Egyptian structure—a small pyramid called a *benben* by the Egyptians. The obelisk and larger pyramids share the same symbolism in Egyptian cosmology. Both are stylized representations of the primeval hill from Egyptian mythology,

BETWEEN EARTH AND HEAVEN

25TH CENTURY B.C.
The 5th-dynasty pharaohs [redacted] each build a sun temple in Abusir dedicated to the god Ra. An obelisk-style structure is erected in the courtyard.

20TH CENTURY B.C.
In the Middle Kingdom the 12th-dynasty pharaoh [redacted] orders the construction of obelisks at the Temple of Ra in Heliopolis, one of which still stands. Another, 42 feet high, is built near Al Fayyum.

15TH CENTURY B.C.
During the [redacted] Thutmose I erects two obelisks at Karnak. His successor, Hatshepsut, builds another two. Thutmose III constructs several obelisks that will be moved to other cities around the world centuries later.

SUN KINGS
The remaining obelisk at the entrance of the temple of Luxor—its twin taken to France in 1833—was erected by Ramses II, who is depicted enthroned behind. Carved into the pedestal are four baboons, associated with sun worship.

YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/GETTY IMAGES

13TH CENTURY B.C.

RAMSES II builds more obelisks during his reign than any other pharaoh. One of his twin obelisks at the temple of Luxor will be removed and transported to the Place de la Concorde, Paris, in the 19th century A.D.

DEA/ANGELO DORA

SOLAR POWER
A stela dedicated to the bull Apis, worshipped in Memphis. Flanked by two obelisks, the bull bears a sun disk between his horns, and is placed under a pyramidion. Louvre Museum, Paris

one which arose during the birth of the world—a time before anything existed, including gods and mortal beings. This legend was developed in the ancient city known as Onu (later named Heliopolis by the Greeks) where the sun, in the form of Ra, and the benben stone had been worshipped since Egypt's Early Dynastic period (circa 2950–2575 B.C.).

Some scholars theorize that the original benben stone may have been a meteorite and was considered sacred because it came from the sky, the realm of the gods. The Pyramid Texts, a series of prayers and spells from the Old Kingdom (circa 2575–2150 B.C.), were found in 5th and 6th dynasty pyramids at Saqqara near Memphis. In the writings, the hieroglyph representing the benben is a complete or truncated small pyramid, a double or single staircase, or a hill with a rounded edge. In all these cases, it depicts something that rises from the earth to the heavens and connects the two worlds. The benben also symbolizes the process whereby sunlight falls to the earth and gives life. That is why solar symbols and figures of the king protected by the sun god Ra or Amun-Ra were inscribed on them.

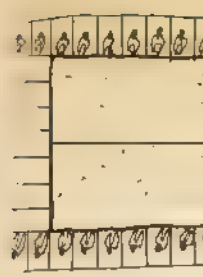
An obelisk's symbolic message was not limited to the pyramidion on top. Hieroglyphs were engraved on some, or all, of the four sides and included the pharaoh's names and titles and a dedication to the gods. Through these texts, the monarch could be connected to the mortal world and be united with the divine. An obelisk from the reign of Thutmose III (1479–1426 B.C.), for example, bears an inscription proclaiming that the king "ordered many granite obelisks to be erected with . . . pyramidions on top, as a monument to his father the god Amun, so that he might be given eternal life as Ra."

Such Great Heights

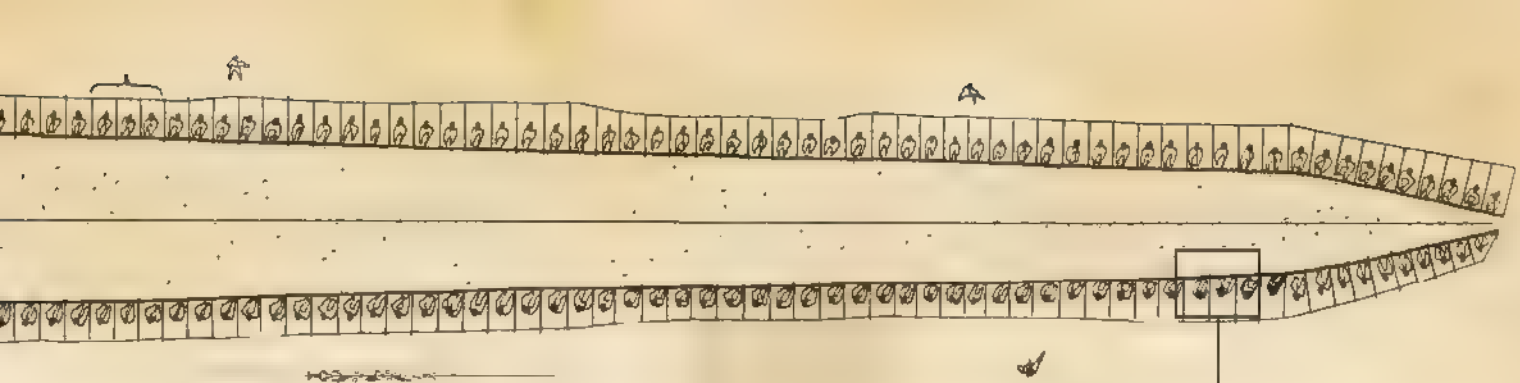
Obelisks are a constant throughout the history of Egypt, built from the Old Kingdom to the Roman conquest But during this vast period of time they underwent considerable evolution. In the third millennium B.C. the 5th-dynasty pharaohs Userkaf and Neuserre built sun temples at Abusir, the necropolis at Memphis. These buildings are not strictly obelisks, but they can be seen as their prototypes: They have a very similar shape, though they are not so slender, and instead of being made from a single block of stone, they were built from blocks clad with white limestone. Later, in the 6th dynasty, Pharaoh Teti ordered the construction of a small obelisk in the Heliopolis temple, some 10 feet high. Pepi I decorated the pyramid of his wife Queen Inenek-Inti with an obelisk.

The 12th-dynasty pharaoh Sesostris I built a series of high obelisks at Heliopolis, including the only remaining structure at the site. Standing at 65 feet, and built in the 20th century B.C., it is the oldest surviving obelisk that still stands in its original location—today, a park in the suburbs of northeastern Cairo. Sesostris also built the curious, red-granite Abgig obelisk-stela near the oasis of Al Fayyum (southwest of modern

Some obelisks were covered in gold plate, a dual reminder of the rays of the life-giving sun and the color of the flesh of the gods.



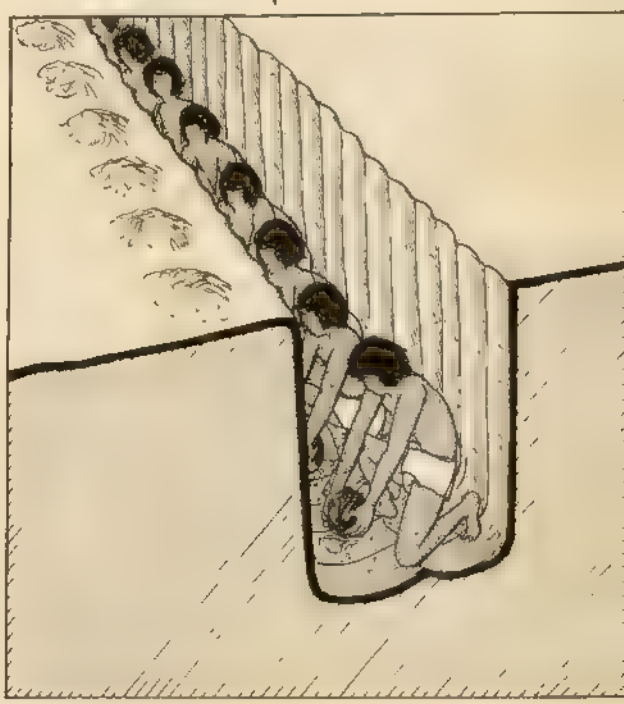
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM LA CONSTRUCTION PHARAONIQUE, BY J.-C. GOYON AND J.-C GOLVIN
MUSÉE DÉPARTEMENTAL ARLES ANTIQUE/JEAN-CLAUDE GOLVIN, ÉDITIONS ERRANCE



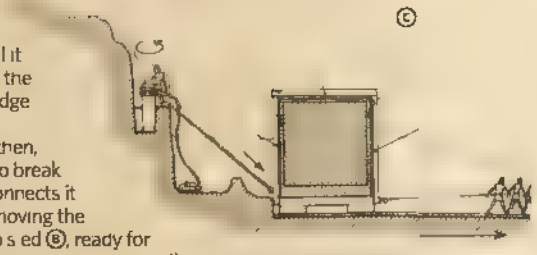
CREATING AN OBELISK

Obelisks were hewn directly out of rock—an extremely arduous task that involved considerable labor. It is thought that at least 140 workmen worked 12-hour days for seven months on the "Unfinished Obelisk" at the Aswan quarry. The process of carving a monolith began by selecting the best quality stone for the project. The outline of the future obelisk was sketched out. And then the cutting began . . .

1 CUTTING OUT The workmen dig a trench some two feet wide in the rock, which gives them enough room to squat and work. The tools they use to carve out and polish the monolith are balls made out of **diorite,** a volcanic stone that is much harder than other rock types; wooden mallets, and copper (later, bronze) tools.



2 DIGGING UNDER The workmen dig underneath the obelisk until it is joined to the rock only by the central section Ⓐ. They wedge sand and wooden beams beneath to stabilize it, and then, when they are ready, tilt it to break off the fragment that still connects it to the ground. Carefully removing the sand lowers it slowly onto a sled Ⓑ, ready for work teams to drag it Ⓒ, using tree trunks as rollers.



3 TRAVELING ON Placed on wooden sleds, the obelisk is dragged with ropes along tracks and up ramps, and then placed on a wide barge. The obelisk is probably transported to its destination while the Nile is in flood, to enable the barge to get as close to its destination as possible.

SLEEPING GIANT
Lying in the quarry of Aswan in southern Egypt, the colossal, 137-foot "unfinished obelisk" was abandoned in its stone bed because of a fissure in the rock. It is believed to date from the reign of Hatshepsut (mid-15th century B.C.).

KENNETH GARRETT

Cairo), which today stands in the middle of a traffic island. Over 42 feet high, it is distinctive for its rounded top, a variation on the traditional pyramidion—although it is believed the symbolism is identical.

During the early New Kingdom, beginning in the 16th century B.C. with the 18th dynasty, the importance of the southern city of Thebes grew. It was a center for worship of the god Amun-Ra, who combined the characteristics of Ra and the Theban god, Amun. Obelisks began to be erected in pairs in front of pylons that flanked the gates to temples—a manifestation of the dual aspect of the god Ra as both sun and moon.

Thutmose I built a pair of obelisks at the Temple of Amun at Karnak, one of which still stands. His successor, Hatshepsut, also constructed twin obelisks at the temple. One has toppled; the other, at 97 feet high, is the tallest ancient obelisk still standing in Egypt. The great warrior pharaoh Thutmose III contributed several obelisks to Karnak, creating the colossal "Lateran Obelisk," later taken to Rome, where it still stands.

Hatshepsut was responsible for the creation of an obelisk that would have been the tallest of all—if her workers had been able to get it out of the ground. Still lying half-carved out of the rock at an ancient quarry of Aswan, is the "unfinished obelisk," a monolith that cracked some three-quarters of the way into the painstaking process of being excavated. Scholars believe it to have been commissioned in the 15th century B.C. Had it been completed, it would have stood at 138 feet.

Seeing the abandoned obelisk reveals the titanic effort involved in creating these massive stone towers. Once cut from the ground, they needed to be moved. Workers would haul them up ramps, drag them on sleds, transport them by boat, and then, in a procedure fraught with danger, raise them in their final destination. Little wonder that this astonishing outpouring of physical energy, technical ability, and artistic skill was seen to unite heaven with earth, the pharaoh with the gods.

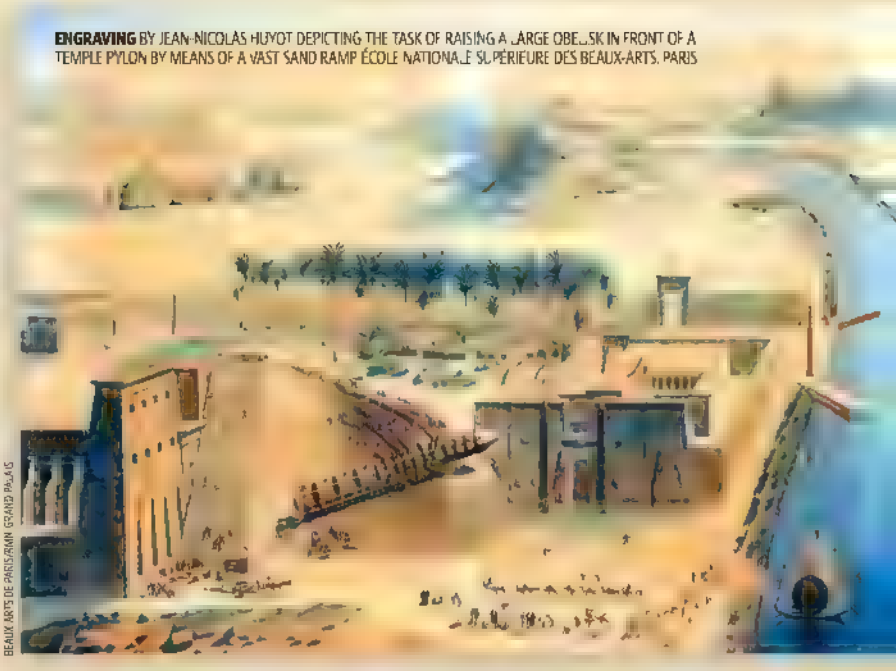
In the New Kingdom, in addition to becoming taller and more massive, the structures became

In the New Kingdom obelisks were placed in pairs at the entrance to temples, in part to show Ra's dual nature: both sun and moon.

KAZUHIRO SEKIYAMA

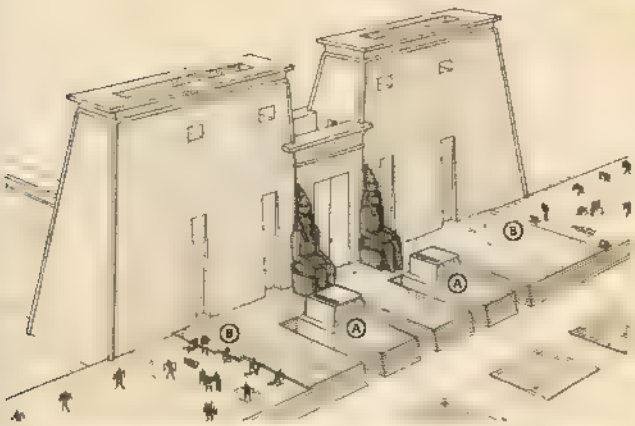
RAISING A COLOSSUS

Once an obelisk had been excavated, there came the dangerous task of transporting it. When the barge reached its destination along the flooded Nile, it would be moored until the water level dropped enough for the obelisk to be unloaded. Another large ramp would be built at the site where the obelisk was to be erected. The workmen dragged the monolith up the ramp using ropes, rollers, and levers, to where it would be placed on a pedestal. There is disagreement as to whether it was then that the inscriptions were engraved on the obelisk or whether that was done in the quarry. The final placement of the obelisk required hundreds of people to raise the stone into place.

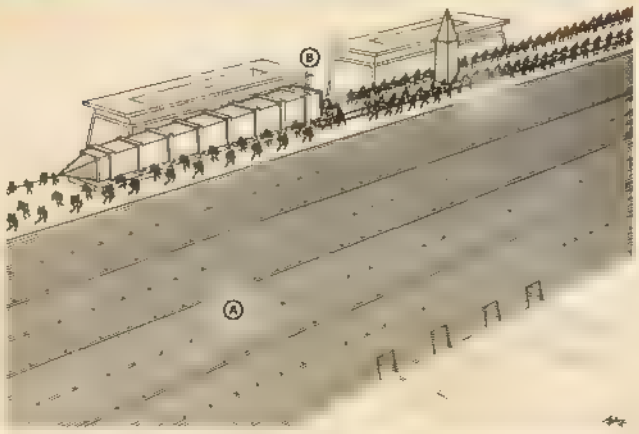


ENGRAVING BY JEAN-NICOLAS HUYOT DEPICTING THE TASK OF RAISING A LARGE OBELISK IN FRONT OF A TEMPLE PYLON BY MEANS OF A VAST SAND RAMP ÉCOLE NATIONALE SUPÉRIEURE DES BEAUX-ARTS, PARIS

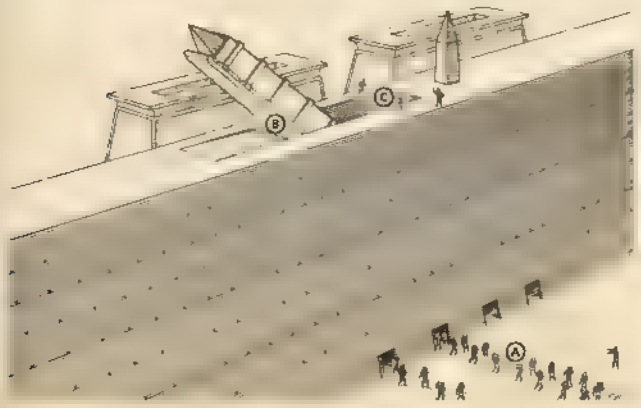
BEAUX ARTS DE PARIS/RMN GRAND PALAIS



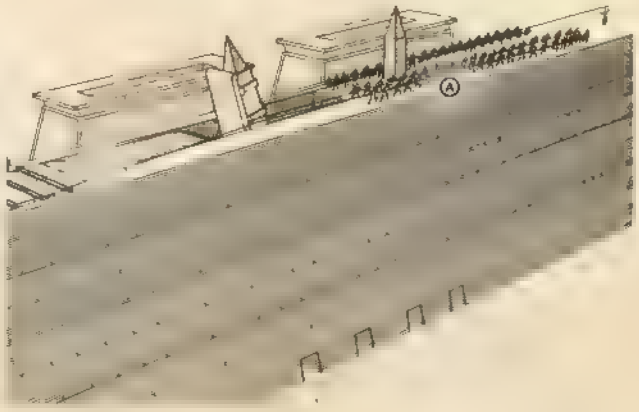
1 PREPARATION Two pedestals Ⓐ are placed in front of the temple's entrance pylon, onto which the twin obelisks will be placed. Workmen mold adobe bricks, which their colleagues Ⓑ are using to build the base of an enormous ramp in front of the pylon.



2 MOVING THE OBELISK Once the ramp Ⓐ has been built, the obelisk is dragged up it on sleds pulled by hundreds of men. The foreman sits on the obelisk giving orders Ⓑ. The monolith is moved beside a large hole filled partly with sand into which it will be gently lowered.



3 REMOVING THE SAND The workmen enter the base of the sand-filled shaft and slowly dig out the sand with baskets Ⓐ. As the sand is removed, the obelisk slowly drops down into position Ⓑ. The foreman stands on top of the ramp supervising the work Ⓒ.



4 PLACEMENT The obelisk is slotted into its pedestal and is stood upright with ropes pulled by the workmen Ⓐ. When the obelisk is in place, the adobe ramp is carefully dismantled around it, leaving the monument standing freely.

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MASTER BUILDER
Thutmose III (left) raised several obelisks at Karnak. The Roman emperor Constantius II had one moved to Rome, while Theodosius I had another transported to Constantinople. Statue, 15th century B.C., Museum of Luxor, Egypt

ever more elegant, carved out of a more diverse range of materials, including granite, quartzite, limestone, and sandstone. The color of the stone from which the obelisk was carved was also closely linked to the heavens. The most commonly used material was granite from quarries of Aswan. The stone was prized for it reddish or pinkish tones, qualities associated with the sun.

Metal components also began to be used as adornment. According to ancient sources, some obelisks, including one of Thutmose III's, were covered in gold plate or electrum, a gold and silver alloy. It was seen as a fitting material because of its durability and its relationship with the gods, whose flesh was made of gold, according to the Egyptians. The color of gold also had a special connection with the sun, whose light fostered life on Earth.

The reign of Ramses II marked a high point of construction in the New Kingdom. This pharaoh built more obelisks than any other. In the ruins of Tanis (a city in the Nile Delta), as many as 23 obelisks with his name have been found. Two obelisks dedicated to him were built at the entrance of the Luxor temple in the 13th century B.C. The base of the obelisk is decorated with baboons because the cries they made at dawn and dusk were interpreted as an homage to the sun. The solar cult binds the god, pharaoh, and obelisk in this case even closer, as Ramses' name means "Ra has given birth to him."

Thieves in the Temple

Fascination with Egyptian obelisks is nothing new, and many outsiders were captivated by their majesty. Roman conquerors felt compelled to bring Egypt back to Rome. Augustus brought an obelisk from Heliopolis, a city built in the time of Ramses II, to Rome. Thutmose III's gigantic Lateran Obelisk was hauled off to Rome during the reign of Constantius II in the fourth century A.D., and another obelisk of his was shipped north a few decades later by Theodosius I. It was taken to Constantinople, modern-day Istanbul, where it stands to this day.

Throughout the ages, outsiders continued to desire these obelisks and moved them far from Egypt. Colonialism, combined with the collusion of Egyptian leaders, resulted in many ending up in parks and squares in the West, such as the so-called Cleopatra's Needles. Standing in Paris, London, and New York City, these three obelisks have nothing to do with the Ptolemaic queen. The Paris obelisk is one of Ramses II's from the Luxor temple. Erected in the 1830s, it stands today at the Place de la Concorde. The other two are the twin obelisks of Thutmose III; in the 1870s one was sent to London, England, and the other given to the United States. Coveted, flaunted, and imitated, obelisks are timeless reminders of the astounding technological and spiritual feats of ancient Egypt. ■

EGYPTOLOGIST ELISA CASTEL HAS WRITTEN EXTENSIVELY ON EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY AND WRITING SYSTEMS.

During the New Kingdom, obelisks grew more elegant, carved out of diverse materials—granite, quartzite, limestone, and sandstone.

ICONS OLD AND NEW

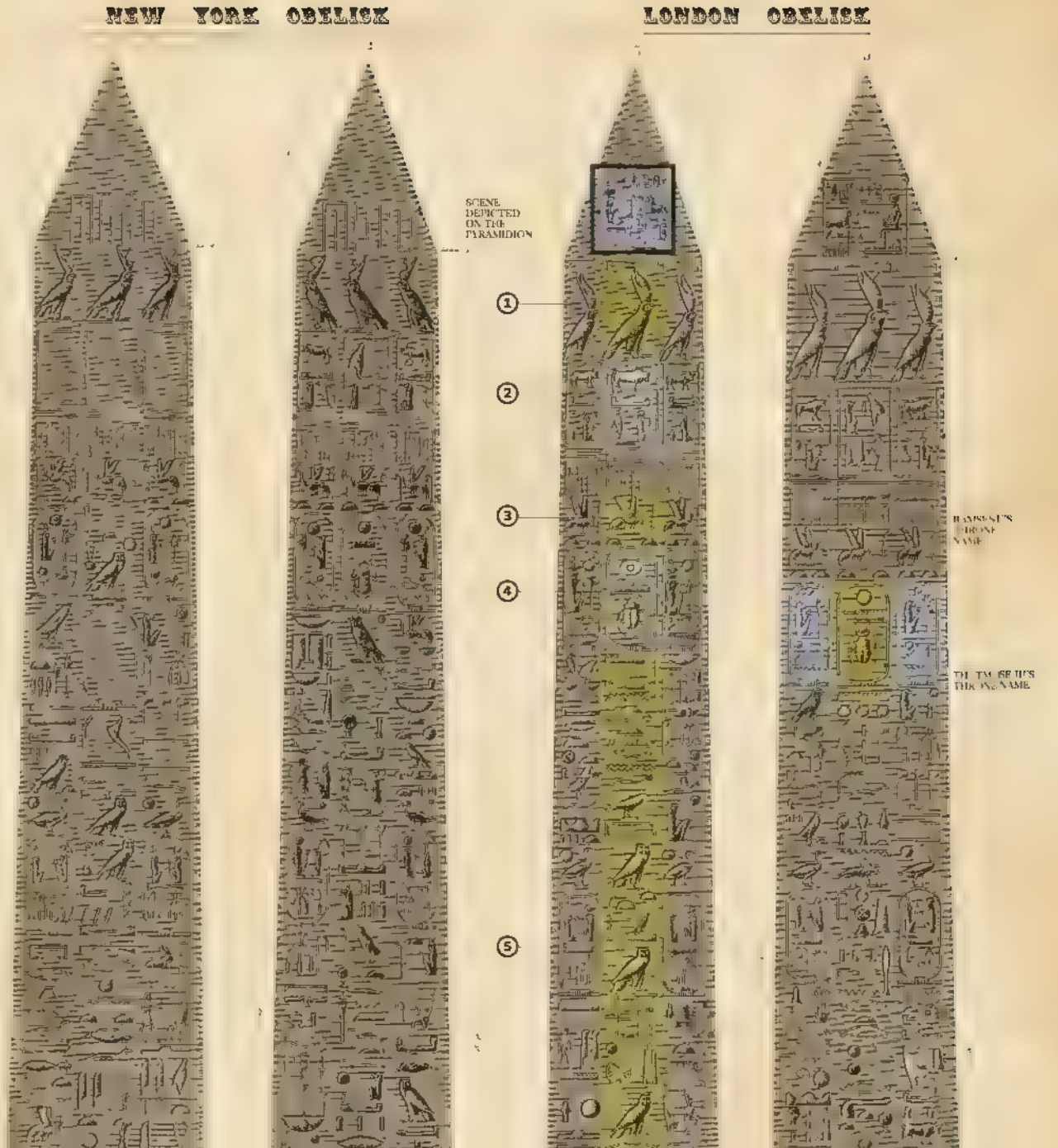
The Luxor Obelisk, carved during the reign of Ramses II, was taken to France in the 19th century. It now stands on the Place de la Concorde in the heart of Paris.

DIDIER ZYLBERYNG/AGE FOTOSTOCK

WORLD TRAVELERS

Despite their 19th-century nickname "Cleopatra's Needles," the two obelisks shown on this page actually have no connection to Egypt's last queen. The history of these obelisks has many twists and turns, during which successive powers claimed the monuments for themselves and moved them all over the map. Thutmose III had them built in Heliopolis, the center of worship of the sun god Ra. Two hundred years later, Ramses II added rows of text stating his name and titles. Roman Emperor Augustus had them transported to Alexandria. In 1879 the Khedive of Egypt gifted the United States one of the obelisks, and the nearly 70-foot structure has stood in Central Park in New York City since 1881.

The second of Thutmose's obelisks was given to Britain in honor of Britain's victories over Napoleon in Egypt. The obelisk left Egypt by boat in 1877 and in 1878 was erected beside the Thames in Westminster

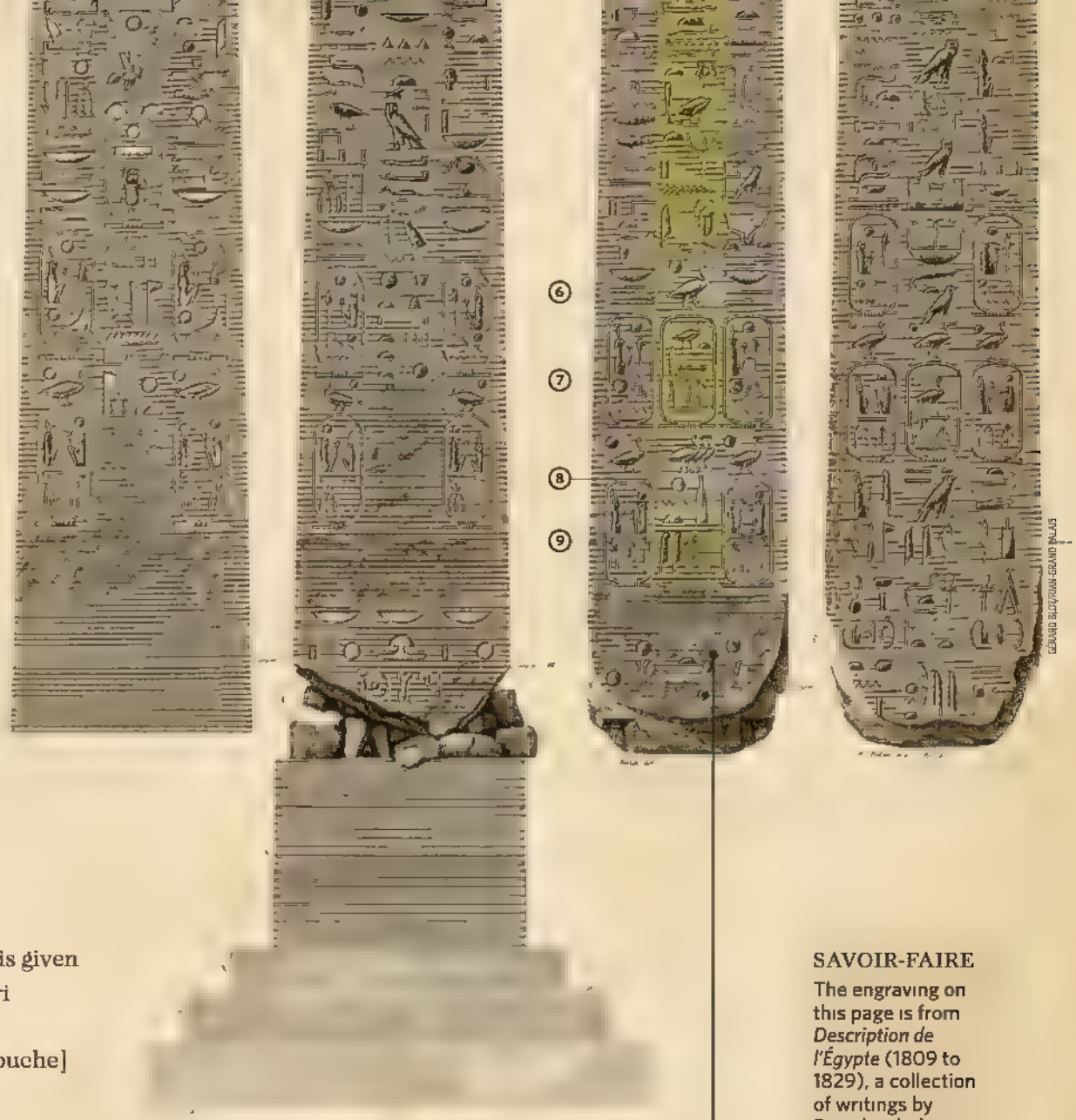


Pyramidion

The pyramidion of the London obelisk is richly decorated. The scene shows the sun god Ra on his throne Ⓐ, holding the *was* scepter associated with the gods. In front of him, the pharaoh, in the form of a sphinx Ⓐ, offers him water, wine, and incense.

Texts of Praise

Each face of both obelisks bears three vertical strips of hieroglyphs. The middle strip contains text about Thutmose III, while the two on either side were added by Ramses II two centuries later. On one side of the obelisk in London (not shown here), an inscription dates the monument: "He [Thutmose] erected two large obelisks made of gold from Dyam on his fourth jubilee due to the greatness of his love for his father Atum. May Thutmose, son of Ra, the beauty of transformation, beloved of Ra-Horakhty, live for ever!"



① Horus
② Powerful bull, beloved of Ra
③ King of Upper and Lower Egypt
④ Men-Maat Ra [on a cartouche]
⑤ whose father Atum has achieved great renown as "lasting in royalty" in the temple at Heliopolis [Iunu], and is given the throne of Geb and the role of Khepri
⑥ The son of Ra
⑦ Thutmose, governor of Maat [on a cartouche]
⑧ of the souls of Heliopolis [the bau]
⑨ granted eternal life forever more [the text is partially lost]

SAVOIR-FAIRE

The engraving on this page is from *Description de l'Égypte* (1809 to 1829), a collection of writings by French scholars who accompanied Napoleon's expedition to Egypt.

ALL AT SEA
With the characteristic color and verve of Cretan art, this fresco from the Minoan settlement of Akrotiri, Santorini, depicts the return of a fleet (National Archaeological Museum, Athens). Opposite, a pottery model of a Cretan house, 16th to 17th centuries B.C. Heraklion Archaeological Museum, Crete
FRESCO AND POTTERY MODEL SCALA, FLORENCE

THE ENDURING SPLENDOR OF CRETE

Home of the mythical Minotaur, the island of Crete spread its culture throughout the Mediterranean world in the Bronze Age. Despite its mysterious demise, this civilization had a profound influence on the myths, art, and language of Greece.

MIREIA MOVELLÁN LUIS

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AN ISLAND BLOWN APART

The colossal eruption on Thera (Santorini) in a 19th-century engraving (depicted above), which occurred around the 16th century B.C., blew out a central part of the island, causing seawaters to flood the caldera.

HERITAGE IMAGES/GETTES

EXPLODING MYTHS

FOUR TIMES more powerful than the devastating Krakatoa volcanic eruption of 1883, the volcano on Thera (modern-day Santorini) exploded around the 16th century B.C. It buried cities, killing thousands, and—some say—

but the eruption's long-term effects may

down through the stories of the Minoan collapse are believed to be the genesis of the lost city of Atlantis as described by the Greek philosopher Plato.

Plato described a prosperous island that the gods swiftly destroyed in a night of fire and earthquakes, sending the civilization to the bottom of the sea.

In the epic poem *The Odyssey*, the Greek poet Homer praised an island that lies "out in the wine-dark sea . . . a rich and lovely sea-girt land, densely peopled, with 90 cities and several different languages." This sophisticated place is not just a random spot in the Mediterranean—Homer is describing Crete, southernmost of the Greek islands and home to one of the oldest civilizations in Europe. Located some 400 miles northwest of Alexandria in Egypt, Crete has been inhabited since the Neolithic period, around 7000 B.C. The culture that developed there during the second millennium B.C. spread throughout the entire eastern Mediterranean world. Crete's command of the seas would allow its stunning art and architecture to deeply influence the Mycenaean Greek civilization that would succeed it.

Into the Labyrinth

Many myths and legends of Crete center around King Minos, son of the god Zeus and the Phoenician princess Europa. The thunder god had turned himself into a gentle, white bull. Charmed by the creature, Europa climbed on its back, and the bull bore her away to Crete where she would later bear their children. Minos became king of Crete and

CRETE'S GOLDEN AGE

CIRCA 3000 B.C.

The Bronze Age Minoan civilization emerges on the island of Crete. It becomes a great maritime trading power, forging commercial ties with Anatolia, Greece, Egypt, and even Sicily.

CIRCA 2000 B.C.

The first palaces are built and maritime commerce with the islands of the Aegean increases as the Cretan upper class start to trade high-quality goods for luxury items.

KAMARES POTTERY FOUND IN THE PALACE OF PHAISTOS ON CRETE. CIRCA 1850 B.C. HERAKLION ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, CRETE

was said to be advised by Zeus himself. Under his rule, Minos built a strong navy and defeated rival city Athens. In one popular myth, Minos demands that Athens send 14 Athenian youths to Crete to be sacrificed to the fearsome Minotaur, a half-man, half-bull, who dwelled in the labyrinth on the island. These myths were created after Minoan civilization had declined, but still reflected the respect that later Greeks had for the people of Crete.

Despite Minos's mythological status, the historian Thucydides—working at the height of Athens's golden age in the fifth century B.C.—wrote of him as if he were a historical figure, "the first to whom tradition ascribes the possession of a navy." Thucydides describes Minos as a conqueror: He expanded Cretan territories, taking the Cyclades—the 30 or so islands that scatter the sea to the north of Crete—expelling the native Carian peoples, and appointing his own sons to govern there. The historian also claims that, in order to "protect his growing revenues, [Minos] sought, as far as he was able, to clear the sea of pirates."

Thucydides' vision of ancient Crete was a thalassocracy, from the Greek words *thalassa*, meaning "sea," and *kratos*, meaning "power." This notion may well reflect the historian's concerns

RAGING BULL

This polychrome relief of a bull (above) adorns the north entrance of the Palace of Knossos. Bull imagery saturates Cretan art, appearing in jewelry, ceramics, sculpture, and painting.

FUNKYSTOCK/AGE FOTOSTOCK

LINEAR A, TABLET INSCRIBED IN THE CRETAN WRITING SYSTEM, CIRCA 1500 B.C. HERAKLION ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, CRETE

DAGLI ORTI/ART ARCHIVE

1700 B.C.

Earthquake damage causes the Cretans to rebuild and create highly decorated complexes at the beginning of the Neopalatial period. The first frescoes appear, and trade flourishes.

Circa 1600 B.C.

The palace of Knossos in Crete is built. The pinnacle of Minoan architecture, it boasts vast numbers of rooms and splendid frescoes, whose style and motifs are found at other sites around the Aegean.

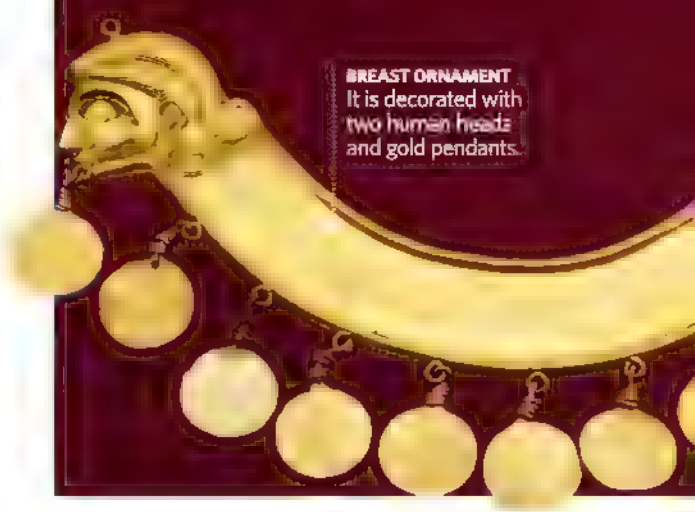
Circa 1450 B.C.

Minoan civilization mysteriously begins to decline. Weakened, Crete will be invaded by foreign forces. Palaces are burned and towns abandoned, never to be rebuilt, as the Minoan age draws to a close.

THE MINOAN SEA OF INFLUENCE

MINOAN CULTURE left its mark across the Aegean. The map (above) shows the Minoan trading routes of the Bronze Age and the exports it received. At **Phylakopi** on the island of Melos, their architectural style, similar to those at **Akrotiri** on Thera, abundant Melos and other mineral resources, as well as Minoan tools widely used, are evidence of Minoan influence in the settlement of **Agia Irini** on the island of Kea. The remains of a Minoan villa on the Attic coast, an important site on the western Minoan trading route. In the eastern Aegean, Minoan pottery has been found on the islands of Miletus, especially **Rhodes** where Minoan-style houses with multiple doors and porches, decorated with frescoes. Rhodes would have been an important stop while en route to the Anatolian (Turkish) coast. Minoan artifacts and cooking equipment have been found at **Miletus**, which would have attracted the Cretans for its proximity to supplies of Anatolian metal.

The Aegina Treasure is a magnificent collection of gold jewelry with strong Minoan traits. Consisting of semiprecious stones, and a gold goblet dating to between 1850 and 1550 B.C., it is named for the island of Aegina near Athens. The collection was acquired by the **British Museum** in the late 19th century. It is believed that the pieces were originally from a Cretan necropolis, perhaps that of Chrysolakkos in Mallia.



with naval power in the region in his own day more than the reality of ancient Crete. Modern historians tend to view Crete as a less aggressive power that used its naval expertise to dominate trade rather than to conquer.

Power, Prestige, and Palaces

Despite the importance of Crete to ancient Greek civilization, archaeological study of its culture is relatively recent. Some of the earliest traces of a powerful, Bronze Age civilization were uncovered in the 19th century. British archaeologist Arthur Evans discovered extensive ruins on Crete in the early 1900s. In honor of the legendary King Minos, he termed the civilization he uncovered "Minoan."

Archaeological evidence shows that during the third millennium B.C. Crete lay at the center of an extensive trading network dealing in copper from the Cyclades and tin from Asia Minor. These materials were essential for producing bronze, a commodity that brought power and prestige to the Minoans. In the second millennium B.C., great palaces began to be built on Crete

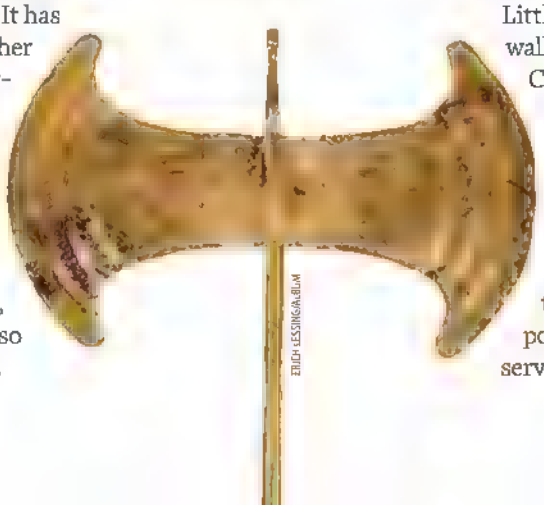
Geese and snakes submit to this master of animals.
BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE
GOBLET
The four linked spirals are a common Minoan motif.
Lotus flowers reflect Egyptian influence.
PENDANT
The master of animals, a recurring theme in Aegean art, is depicted.
BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

during the period known as the Neopalatial (circa 1700-1490 B.C.). Evans excavated several of these structures, including the magnificent Palace of Knossos, seat of the legendary King Minos. More recent archaeological digs have demonstrated that Crete was widely urbanized during this period and that Knossos exercised some kind of hegemony over other Cretan cities. The mid-second millennium B.C. seemed a time of great prosperity.

Although many Minoan structures have been given the secular term "palace," researchers believe their role was not a royal one. It has never been firmly established whether Minoan Crete had a true royal dynasty, so these lavish palaces may have had mixed secular and religious roles. Some archaeologists interpret these palaces more as civic centers from which to control and distribute raw materials, carry out rituals, mete out justice, maintain water distribution, and also organize festivals for the populace.

STRIKING A BLOW

The *labrys*, a double-headed ax (below), is one of the symbols of Minoan culture. As tall as a man, it is believed such axes were used in bull sacrifices. Heraklion Archaeological Museum, Crete



Daily life was, for the majority, simple but comfortable. Islanders lived in houses made of stone, mud brick, and wood, and the domestic economy was based on viticulture and olive farming. The surrounding cypress forests provided timber for shipbuilding for the important Minoan fleet. As the Minoan upper classes grew increasing wealthy, they imported luxuries—jewelry and precious stones—which provided extra incentive to develop new trading routes for Crete's exports: timber, pottery, and textiles.

Little evidence has been found of city walls or fortifications built on ancient Crete during this time. This finding seems to suggest that either there were no serious threats to the island or—more likely—that patrolling ships were enough to guard its coastlines. A maritime force would have also protected the trading routes, harbors, and strategic points, such as Amnisos, the port that served the capital, Knossos.

AERIAL VIEW OF THE CITADEL AT MYCENAE ON THE PELOPONNESE IN GREECE

GEORG GERSTER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

PASSING THE BATON

BY THE 15TH century B.C. the Minoan civilization was in decline, and the role of regional power in the eastern Mediterranean was passing to the Mycenaean Greeks [illegible] Peloponnesian peninsula in the south of modern Greece. The city of Mycenae was [illegible] the court of the legendary King Agamemnon, commander of the Greek armies at the [illegible] Mycenae [illegible] Cretan culture that preceded it. Many of the goods found in Mycenaean graves [illegible] are decorated with Minoan motifs: griffins, sphinxes, butterflies, and bull's heads. These objects were not plundered from Minoan sites but made by Mycenaean craftsmen, sometimes with local variations. They reflect the deep influence the earlier Cretan culture left on the forerunner of classical Greece.

Minoan Influences

As Minoan culture and trade radiated across the Aegean, communities on the islands of the Cyclades and the Dodecanese (near the coast of modern-day Turkey) were radically changed through contact with Crete. Cretan fashions became very popular in the eastern Mediterranean. Local island elites first acquired Cretan pottery and textiles as a symbol of prestige. Later, the presence of Minoan merchants also prompted island communities far from Knossos to adopt Crete's standard system of weights and measures.

Perhaps the clearest sign of Minoan influence was the appearance of its writing system in the languages of later cultures. Characteristics of Crete's letters appear to have used several forms. One of the oldest was discovered by Arthur Evans and is now known as Linear A. Despite not yet being deciphered, scholars believe it is the local language of Minoan Crete. But it must have been an important regional common language of its day, as Linear A has been found inscribed on many of the clay vessels discovered on islands across the Aegean. The other script, called Linear B, evolved from Linear A. Deciphered in the 1950s, Linear B is recognized as the oldest known Greek dialect.

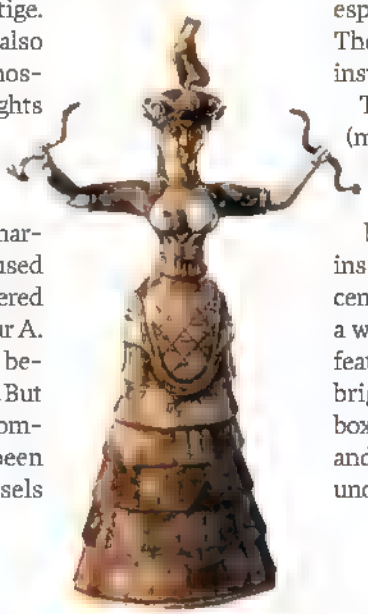
The Minoans also maintained trading relationships with Egypt, Syria, and the Greek mainland. Their trade routes may have extended as far west as Italy and Sicily. Certain locations had especially close ties with Crete and its sailors. These included Miletus on the Anatolian peninsula on Crete's eastern trading route.

The city of Akrotiri on the island of Thera (modern-day Santorini) is one of the best preserved of these Minoan settlements. A volcanic eruption around the 16th century B.C. buried Akrotiri under ash, preserving its ruins which were excavated in the 19th and 20th centuries. Digs in the 1960s and '70s unearthed a wealthy city with many distinctive Minoan features. Its walls boasted stunning murals of brightly colored, stylized images of sparring boxers, climbing monkeys, swimming dolphins, and flying birds. The quality of the paintings uncovered at Akrotiri suggests that artists either

SERPENTS AND STATUES

Dating from the 18th to 16th centuries B.C., this statue was found at Knossos. Heraklion Archaeological Museum, Crete

DEA/SCALA, FLORENCE



from Crete or influenced by its culture had set up workshops in this city.

Other Aegean settlements bearing clear evidence of Minoan influence include the Cycladi islands of Melos and Kea, and islands in the Dodecanese, such as Rhodes. The settlement of Kastri, on the island of Cythera, south of the Peloponnesian peninsula of the Greek mainland, is another example of Cretan cultural power. Built to exploit the local stocks of murex—a mollusk highly prized for its purple ink used for dyeing cloth—Kastri is purely Minoan in its urban planning. But even this town was not a colony. There is no evidence that these places were politically subject to Crete, as it is not believed that they paid any kind of tribute beyond the money exchanged when trading goods.

From the Ashes

Minoan civilization declined by the late 15th century B.C., but the exact cause is unknown. One theory is that the volcanic eruption on Thera damaged other cities along Minoan trade routes, which hurt Crete economically. Taking all the evidence available, the volcano did not directly affect life on Crete—about 70 miles to the south. No damage from the eruption has been found there. Crete's cities seemed unaffected for at least a few generations after the volcano.

Archaeologists have uncovered evidence of an invasion in the mid-15th century B.C. Many sites, including several large palaces in central and southern Crete were burned, and many settlements were abandoned shortly thereafter. The invaders most likely overthrew the Minoan government and took control of the island, ending the era of Crete's dominance.

Despite its abrupt ending, the influence of Crete survived. Its vibrant culture made a major impact on the rising new regional power: the Mycenaean Greeks, who lauded King Minos and Crete in their mythology. Linear B, the Cretan writing system adopted by the Mycenaeans, would be the basis for the Greek in which the poet Homer would write his two masterpieces.

A SPECIALIST IN GREEK PHILOLOGY AND HISTORY, **MIREIA MOVELLÁN LUIS** IS A RESEARCHER AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID, SPAIN.

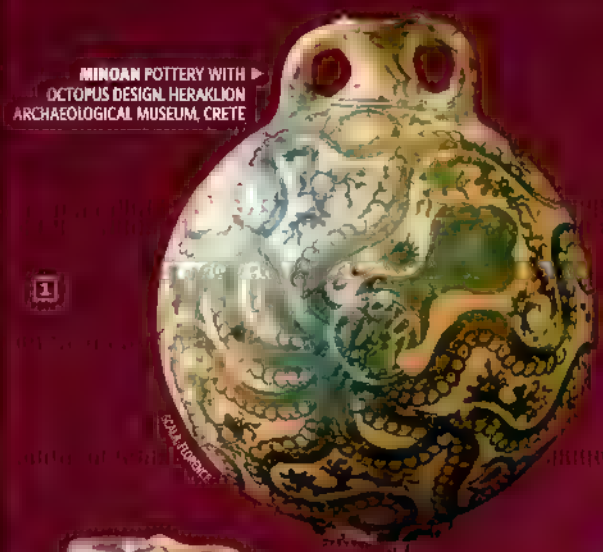
SEAT OF POWER

Because of the stand alone stone chair, British archaeologist Arthur Evans identified this chamber (above) as the "throne room." Historians now suggest the seat was not a royal one, as these so-called palaces served both sacred and secular purposes.

H.G. ROTH/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

FROM MINOAN TO MYCENAEAN

Minoan art deeply influenced Mycenaean Greece. Minoan subjects—sea creatures, female figures, and the bull—show up in the creations of their successors.



MINOAN POTTERY WITH OCTOPUS DESIGN, HERAKLION ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, CRETE

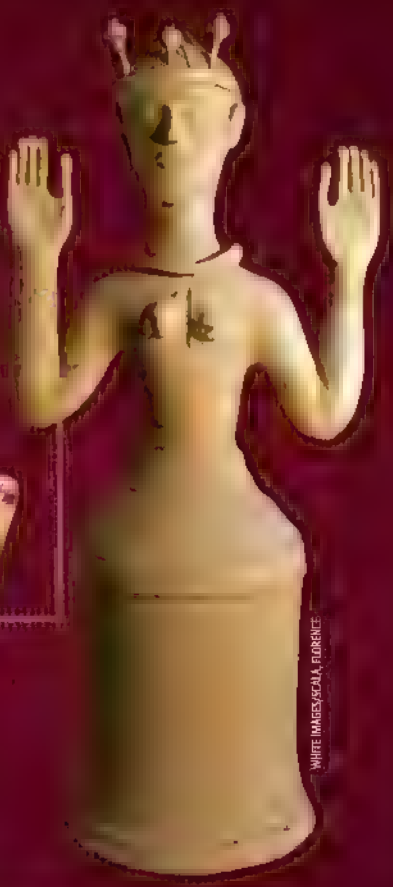
SCALA, FLORENCE

MYCENAEAN POTTERY DECORATED WITH MARINE ANIMALS (STYLIZED FISH AND OCTOPUS), METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

AGE FOTOSTOCK

MINOAN POPPY GODDESS, HERAKLION ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, CRETE

BEAWAS FOTOSTOCK



MYCENAEAN FEMALE FIGURINE WITH ARMS RAISED, WEARING A HAT. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF HAFFUO, GREECE

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

1 *Nautical Pottery*

During the Late Minoan period (1570–1425 B.C.) a type of decoration emerged that was based on marine themes. It was common to cover the whole surface of a goblet with paintings of creatures such as octopuses, fish, or dolphins. Mycenaean work adopts similar motifs, although usually depicted in a less realistic style.

2 *The Sacred Female*

Perhaps representing priestesses or deities, female figurines were found in the sanctuary of Gazi in Crete. Their raised arms indicate an attitude of devotion. The crown of poppies possibly identifies her as a goddess of sleep or death. Similar, though more stylized, figures have been discovered at Mycenaean sites.

MINOAN FRESCO OF A YOUNG WOMAN, FOUND IN KNOSSOS. HERAKLION ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, CRETE

MINOAN WINE VESSEL IN THE FORM OF A BULL'S HEAD. HERAKLION ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, CRETE

MYCENAEAN WOMAN WITH AN UNUSUAL HEADDRESS. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF NAFPLIO, GREECE

CERAMIC BULL'S HEAD FOUND IN TOMB 11 AT IALYSOS, RHODES. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

HEMAGE FOTOSTOCK

PRISMA/ALBUM

3 *Ladies of the Court*

The Minoan influence on Mycenaean art is apparent in Mycenaean frescoes. The themes tend to be similar, although the Mycenaean works are characterized by images of war. The depictions of the female form found in Crete are delicate and elegant whereas in Mycenae they are more stylized and exaggerated.

4 *Cult of the Bull*

The bull was considered a sacred animal in Crete, a symbol of power and fertility. It appears in paintings, metalwork, pottery, and drinking vessels. In Mycenae and the surrounding area, numerous representations of bulls have also been uncovered on ceramic ware, some of them depicted with startling realism.

The Naumachiae of Rome

TERROR ON THE

Staged by hundreds of men, mock sea battles thrilled audiences in ancient Rome and wiped

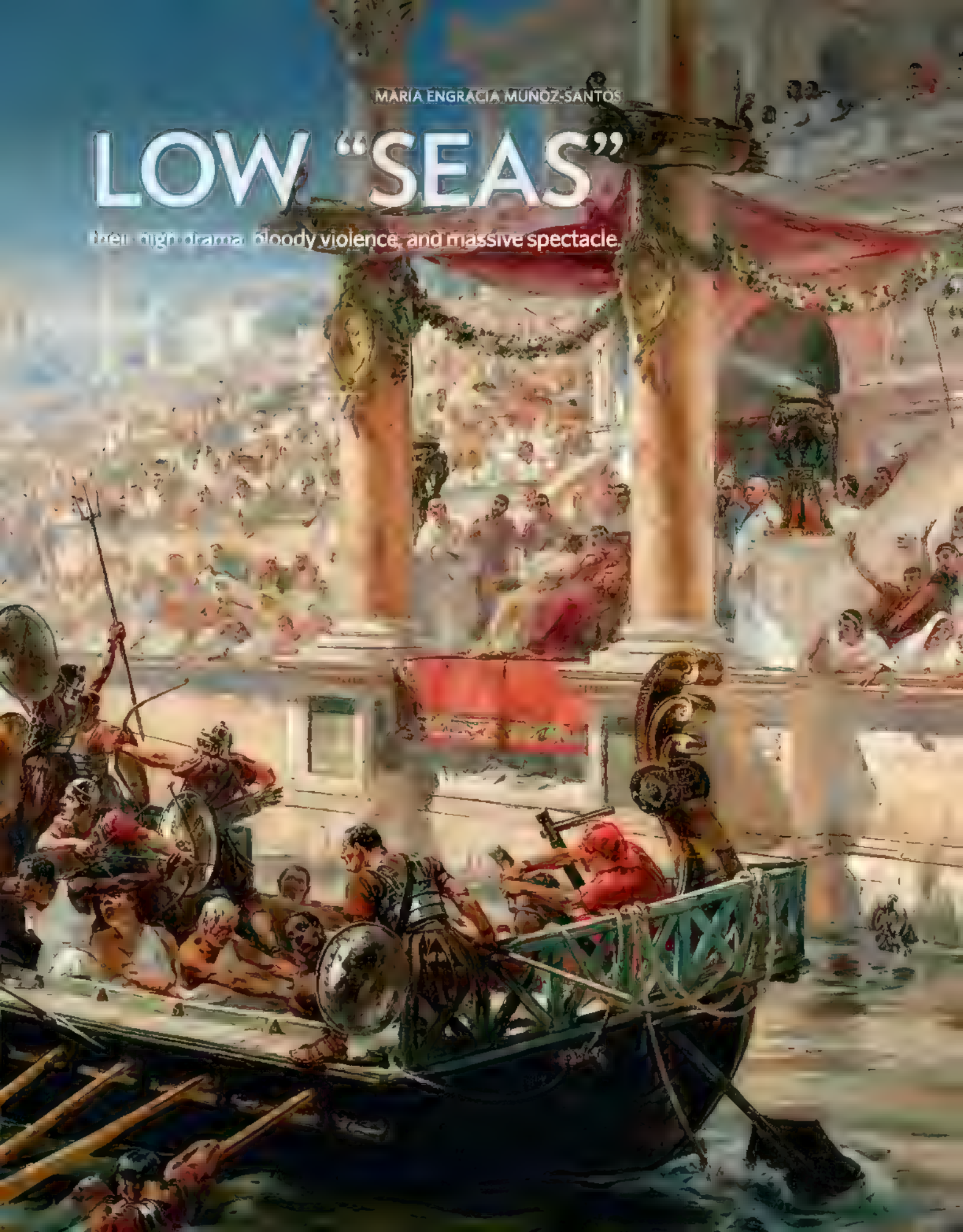
NAVAL GAZING
Manned by convicts, ships clash in a flooded amphitheater before a Roman emperor in Ulpiano Checa's 1894 painting of a naumachia. Ulpiano Checa Museum, Colmenar de Oreja, Spain

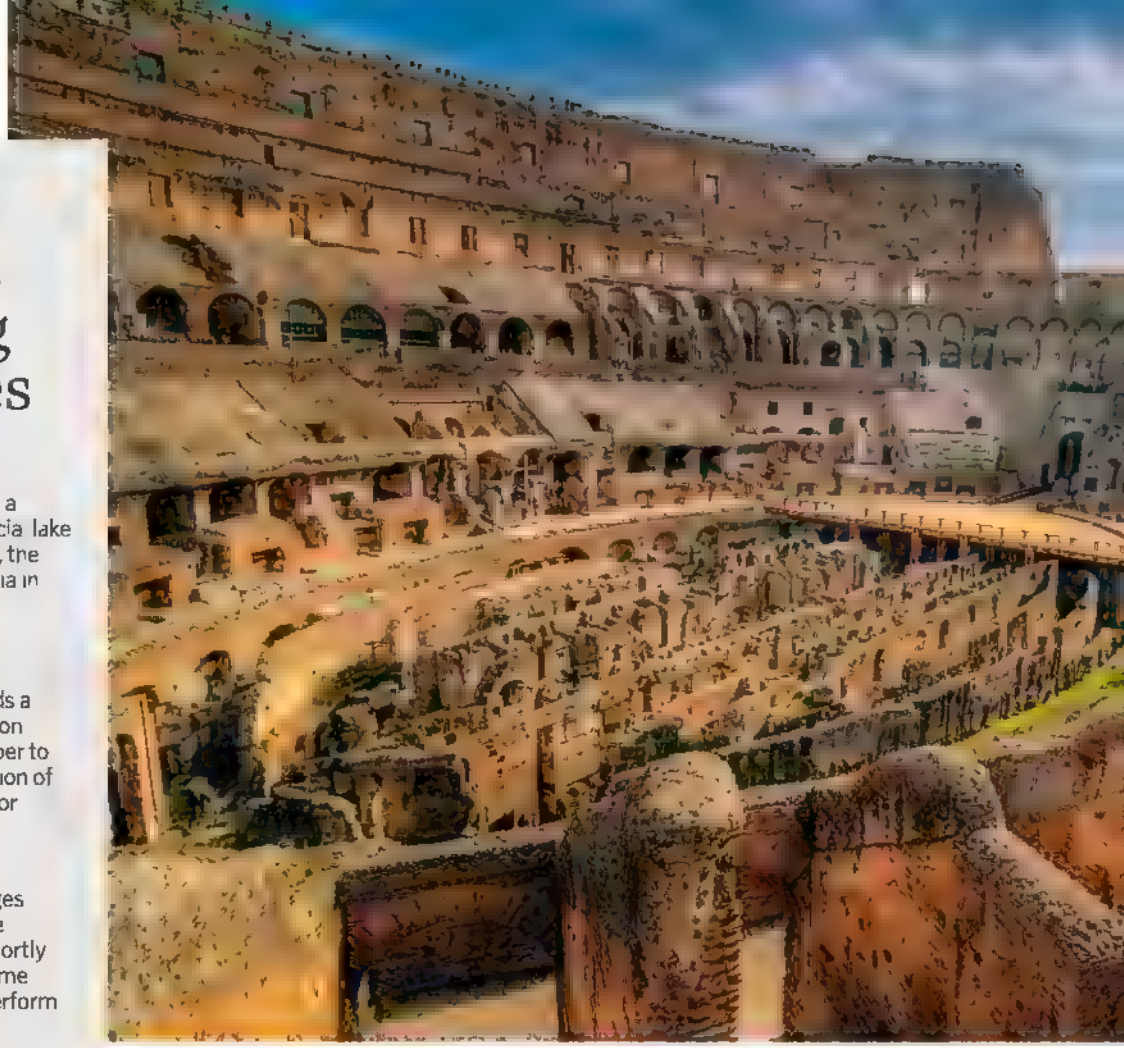
ULPIANO CHECA MUSEUM, COLMENAR DE OREJA

MARÍA ENGRACIA MUÑOZ-SANTOS

LOW "SEAS"

Naval high drama, bloody violence, and massive spectacle.





Three Centuries of Staging Sea Battles

46 B.C.
Julius Caesar organizes a naval battle on an artificial lake in the Campus Martius, the first recorded naumachia in Roman history

2 B.C.
Emperor Augustus holds a large-scale naumachia on the right bank of the Tiber to celebrate the inauguration of the Temple of Mars Ultor

A.D. 52
Emperor Claudius stages a naumachia on Fucine Lake in central Italy, shortly before it is drained. Some 19,000 combatants perform in the battle.

A.D. 57
Nero holds the first of two naumachiae in his reign in an stone and wood amphitheater he had built. The second battle is staged there in 64.

A.D. 80
Roman sources mention two naumachiae held to celebrate Rome's new amphitheater, the Colosseum.

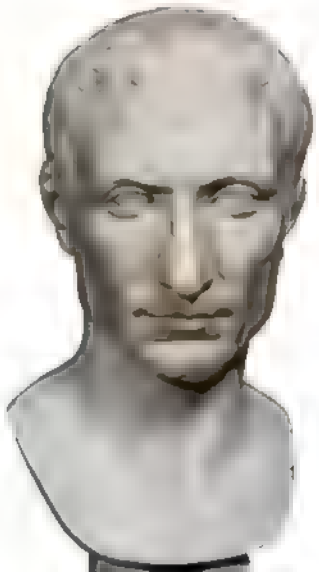
A.D. 109
To celebrate Rome's triumph in the Dacian wars, Emperor Trajan stages a naumachia in a specially constructed pool near Vatican Hill

A.D. 248
A naumachia to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of Rome's founding is probably the last such event of the Roman era.

ROMAN SHOWMAN

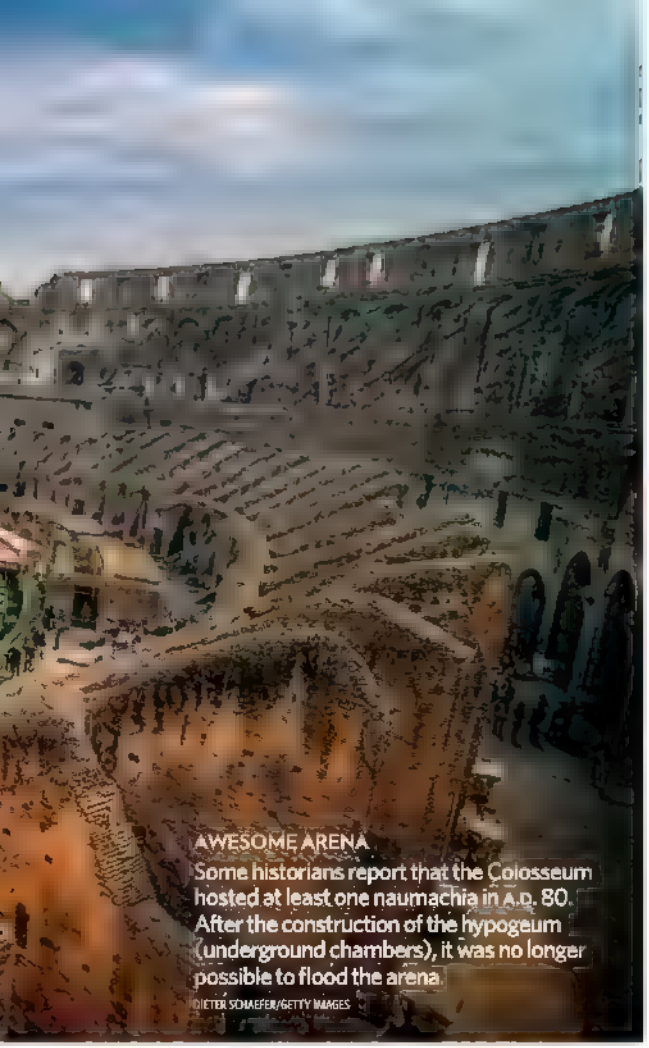
A man who knew the power of "bread and circuses," Julius Caesar (below) staged naumachiae to thrill the Roman public. Bust of Caesar, Vatican Museums

SCALA, FLORENCE

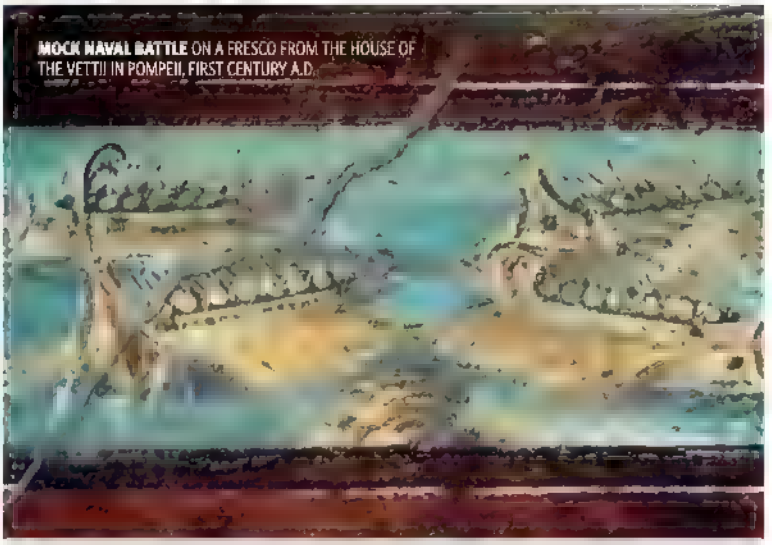


The people of Rome threw a party in 46 B.C. that would be remembered for many years to come. Julius Caesar had just returned, having crushed the followers of his great rival, Pompey the Great. Writing nearly two centuries later, the Roman historian Dio Cassius describes how in the first few days of his triumph the recently proclaimed dictator "proceeded homeward with practically the entire populace escorting him, while many elephants carried torches." In addition to the excitement caused by the exhibition of a giraffe—dubbed a "camleopard" because it resembled a cross between a camel and leopard—Romans witnessed the preparations for another astonishing spectacle that would be the culmination of the festivities: a naval battle on a man-made lake built in the Campus Martius filled with water from the nearby Tiber River.

There, two fleets of biremes, triremes, and quadriremes with 4,000 galley slaves and 2,000 crew members on board clashed in a full-scale reconstruction of a naval battle. Roman historian Suetonius, writing in the first century A.D.,



AWESOME ARENA
Some historians report that the Colosseum hosted at least one naumachia in A.D. 80. After the construction of the hypogeum (underground chambers), it was no longer possible to flood the arena.
DIETER SCHAEFER/GETTY IMAGES



MOCK NAVAL BATTLE ON A FRESCO FROM THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII IN POMPEII, FIRST CENTURY A.D.
DEA/A. BELLI/M

AN ARMADA IN THE GARDEN

NAUMACHIAE inspired domestic art, such as the fresco in Pompeii (above). Wealthy Romans even staged their own private battles, such as one held by the nobleman Lollius sometime at the end of the first century B.C., described here by the poet Horace: "You are frivolous on your paternal estate. The army divides the boats, with you as leader, the Battle of Actium is staged by your slaves in a hostile manner; your brother is the adversary, the lake is the Adriatic."

recorded that people from all over Italy attended. Stalls were set up nearby and the streets filled with sex workers, thieves, and vendors. So many people tried to go that some slept in the street the night before to secure good seats. People even died in the crush of the crowds, including two senators. The astonishing spectacle known as the naumachia—from the Greek word for naval battle—had been born.

Actors Aweigh!

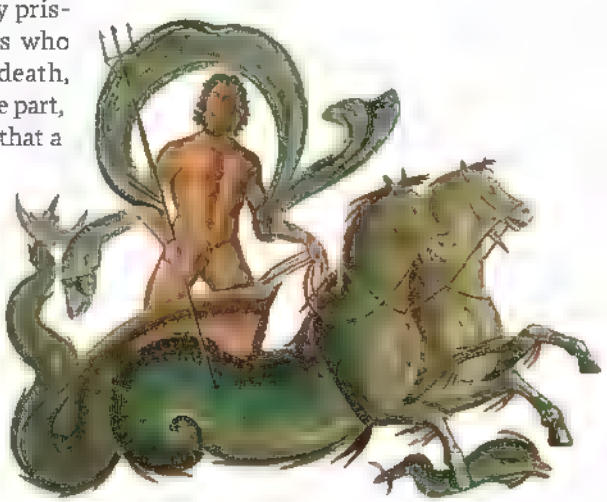
The naumachia joined the ranks of existing Roman spectacles and entertainment, such as the gladiator fight (*munus*) and exotic animal hunt (*venatio*). These events attracted thousands of spectators from all social classes. Not only did they serve to amuse the public, they also served as a demonstration of power, of Rome's preeminence in engineering, and the strength of its civilization.

During his time, Caesar's naumachia was probably the most complex event held in ancient Rome. The naval battle was not merely a free-for-all, but a carefully staged portrayal of a historic battle between the fleets of Tyre and Egypt, two of Rome's traditional enemies. Later naumachiae would reimagine historic battles between Athens and Persia, or Rhodes and Sicily.

For all its theater, these events were not simulations. They were real battles, in which violence, mutilation, blood, and drowning made them as macabre a spectacle as a gladiator fight. To man the ships, the participants—known as *naumachiarii*—wore the uniforms of the two sides. They were typically prisoners of war or convicts who had been sentenced to death, though free men could take part, too. In fact, it is recorded that a praetor—a high-ranking official—participated in Caesar's naumachia.

The extensive planning required to stage the event explains why only around a dozen more were held after Caesar's. A naumachia was massively

LORD OF THE SEAS
Neptune, Roman god of the sea, is depicted in a third-century A.D. mosaic (below) found in Hadrumetum (modern-day Sousse, Tunisia).
BRIDGEMAN/AD



THE AQUA CLAUDIA, INAUGURATED BY CLAUDIUS IN A.D. 52, IS BELIEVED TO HAVE SUPPLIED THE WATER FOR THE NAUMACHIA IN THE COLOSSEUM.

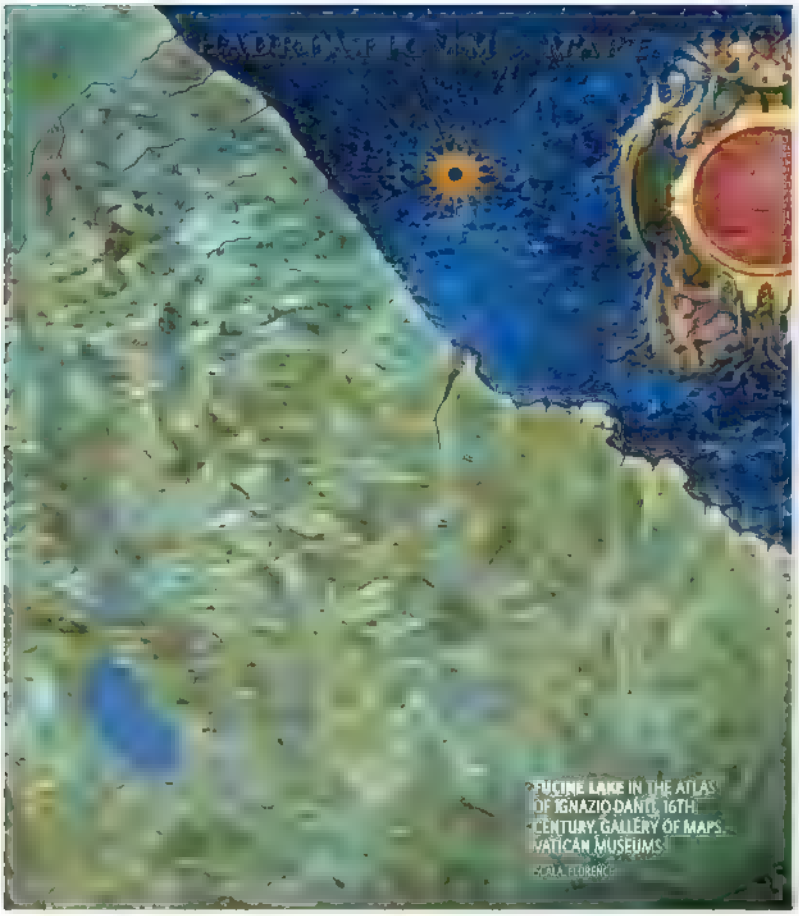
RICCARDO AJO/VISIVALAB

How to Flood the Colosseum

MODERN HISTORIANS are divided on whether naval battles actually took place in the Colosseum, despite there being ancient accounts of them. To see if it was physically possible to flood the arena, archaeologists attempted to calculate how long it would take to fill it with enough water. The depth would have to be at least five feet for the ships to float, which would require more than 149,000 cubic feet of water—about 1,120,000 U.S. gallons—to fill the amphitheater. The Aqua Claudia could supply as much as 560 gallons per second. There would have been leakage between the aqueduct and the arena—perhaps up to half—and water supply would have fluctuated according to its use elsewhere. Factoring in these variables, estimates as to how long it took to fill the arena range from 83 minutes to three and a half hours. The water would enter through a series of channels, and 18 drains strategically placed around the arena drained it. These structures were blocked after the hypogeum, a complex of chambers and passages, was constructed under the arena by Emperor Domitian.

ONE OF THE COLOSSEUM'S 18 DRAINS BENEATH THE ARENA, SHOWN HERE UNDER THE ARCHES OF THE HYPOGEUM, WHICH WAS BUILT LATER.

STEPHEN ALVAREZ/NGS



FUCINE LAKE IN THE ATLAS OF IGNAZIO DANTI, 16TH CENTURY. GALLERY OF MAPS, VATICAN MUSEUMS

SCALA, FLORENCE

AYE, AYE, CLAUDIUS

THE NAUMACHIA organized for Claudius on Fucine Lake in A.D. 52 was modeled after Augustus' extravaganza half a century earlier, but it d'd not go off as smoothly. A silver Triton emerged from the center of the lake through some ingenious mechanical means To the wonder of the crowds watching from hillsides all around, he sounded a trumpet to begin the battle. Before it started, the combatants cried, "Hail Caesar! We who are about to die salute you!" According to historian Suetonius, writing about 70 years later, the emperor replied, "Or not." The convicts interpreted his words as a pardon and would not fight. Enraged at their reaction, Claudius leapt out of his seat and paced from one side of the lake to the other with his "ridiculous tottering gait." The participants were unmoved, so Claudius sent his imperial guard on rafts to prod the two sides into fighting.

expensive. Planners needed not only a colossal budget but also an appropriate site. They needed a crew of skilled craftsmen and engineers to create the theater, the seating, and the ships. They also needed a team to choreograph the action, and a sufficient number of participants to bring it to life.

Some naumachiae were staged on natural bodies of water. In 40 B.C. one was organized in the Strait of Messina (between Sicily and Italy), on the orders of Sextus, Pompey's younger son and enemy of Octavian (later Emperor Augustus). On this occasion, Sextus chose to re-create a recent battle: his own naval victory over Octavian. Sextus's performance was even held in full view of his defeated rival as a calculated gesture of contempt.

A century or so later Emperor Claudius staged his own mock sea battle—a portrayal of a historic battle between Sicily and Rhodes—on Fucine Lake in central Italy. One hundred boats and as many as 19,000 combatants (all convicts) took part in the extravaganza according to the historian Tacitus. To force them to fight, armed guards were stationed on pontoons around the lake. Tacitus recounts that although the battle was "one of criminals, it was contested with the spirit and courage of free men; and, after much blood had flowed, the combatants were exempted from destruction."

Man-made Maritime Marvels

Natural bodies of water might have been less expensive to use, but they were not as conducive to watching. And since watching was the fundamental purpose of these events, other theaters had to be created. The sight of a huge, specially dug lake, equipped with stands for spectators, would become an important part of the performance itself.

Julius Caesar's pioneering naumachia in the Campus Martius was held in a large, artificial lake that was filled in immediately after

SHOCK AND OAR

Oar-powered triremes and biremes—with three and two banks of oars, respectively—were the naumachia vessels of choice. Below, a relief of a trireme. Museum of Roman Civilization, Rome

DEA/ALBUM

IN THE ROUND
A 1721 engraving imagines mock naval combat organized by Emperor Domitian in the Colosseum, although scholars disagree on the precise location of his naumachia.

NAMUR ARCHIVE/SCALA, FLORENCE COLOR: SANTI PEREZ

the battle had ended, probably to prevent the risk of disease from stagnant water. In 2 B.C. Augustus created an artificial lake of his own on the right bank of the Tiber River to hold a naumachia to celebrate the inauguration of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus. The Naumachia Augusti—the term "naumachia" was by then used to describe the body of water itself as well as the spectacle staged there—became regularly used for such events in Rome, at least until the end of the first century A.D.

Rather than excavating a lake, other emperors would flood amphitheaters with water. The first such recorded venue was pioneered during the reign of Nero, who organized a water battle in a stone and wood amphitheater he had built in the Campus Martius in A.D. 57. A few years later, Nero organized another naval show in the same amphitheater. Historians recorded great admiration at the amazing speed with which the site was not only filled, but also emptied in order to allow a wild animal hunt and gladiator games to take place on the same day. A few months later the structure burned to the ground during the Great Fire of Rome.

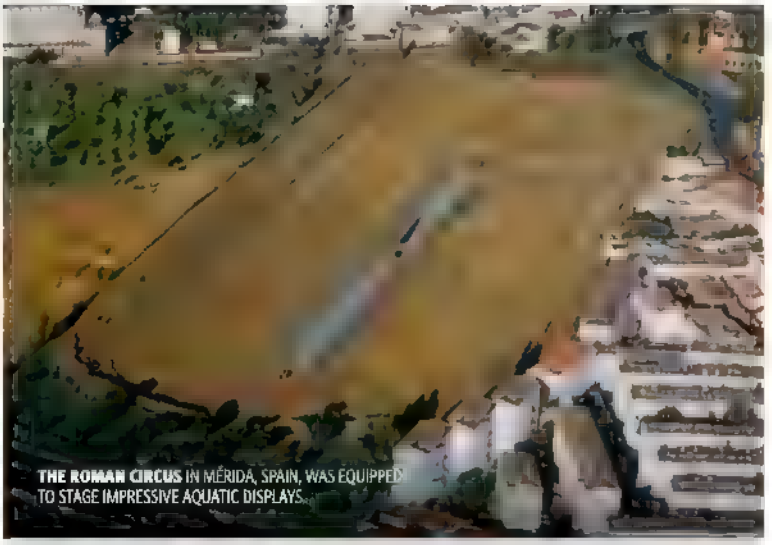
THE LAST NAUMACHIA

It is believed the last mock naval battle of the Roman era was held in A.D. 248 to celebrate the millennium of Rome's founding. It was ordered by Emperor Marcus Julius Philippus (Philip the Arabian), depicted below on this golden aureus.

BRIDGEMAN/AC

Perhaps ancient Rome's most iconic building, the Colosseum was purported to be the site of several naumachiae. In A.D. 80, as part of its dedication, historians report that Emperor Titus decided to hold two naumachiae: one on an artificial lake created by Augustus and the other in the Colosseum itself. During its first year, it was possible to flood the Colosseum with enough water for ships to sail (the tunnels and storage rooms under the floor, the hypogeum, were built later, during the reign of Domitian). Constructed on the space left by the artificial lake beside the Domus Aurea (the Golden House, formerly Nero's Palace), the low-lying Colosseum could be flooded and drained with relative ease, using a series of canals and pools.

Sources mention later naumachiae, such as the one held by Trajan to celebrate his conquest of Dacia (modern-day Romania), a territory with an abundance of mineral deposits that



D. JARCA BAYERN/AGE FOTOSTOK

THE ROMAN CIRCUS IN MÉRIDA, SPAIN, WAS EQUIPPED TO STAGE IMPRESSIVE AQUATIC DISPLAYS.

PROVINCIAL PERFORMANCES

THE MOST OPULENT public naumachiae were held in Rome, but smaller-scale events were held throughout the empire in other parts of Italy and the provinces, such as Verona and Spain. A fourth-century inscription in the old Roman city of Emerita Augusta (Mérida, Spain) describes a structure that could be "flooded with water." Mérida's facilities probably enabled the staging of lavish aquatic displays, but without the full-size ships used in Rome

enriched the Roman Empire at the height of its expansion. Trajan's event took place in a pool near Vatican Hill, the remains of which were located in 18th-century excavations near the fortress of Sant'Angelo. Another major mock battle in Rome is recorded in A.D. 248, when Emperor Marcus Julius Philippus (sometimes known as Philip the Arabian due to his Syrian heritage) celebrated the thousandth anniversary of Rome's founding with a naumachia.

These giant spectacles quickly fell out of favor after Philip's naumachia, the last recorded event of its kind in the Roman era. Perhaps the empire's increasing weakness and financial troubles in the third century led to the decline in popularity.

Imitating History

Fascination with the naumachia's combination of cruelty and frivolity survived. Centuries later, they were still remembered as a colorful and intriguing example of the megalomania of the emperors and the Roman love of public spectacles. When interest in antiquity was renewed in the Renaissance, naumachiae were revived as well, albeit in a notably toned-down form. In the mid-17th century, as Spain's ungainly empire tipped into decline, another imperial Philip—King Philip IV—amused himself watching a flotilla perform pretend military maneuvers on the lake in the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid. An elaborate river-based naumachia was also held in the Spanish city of Valencia in 1755, to celebrate the canonization of a local saint.

There is also some evidence of similar shows organized for pure entertainment, with no link to royalty or patronage. In the early 1800s the theater of Sadlers Wells in London became famous for naumachia-style spectacles, to which crowds flocked to see reconstructions of battles. The craze did not last, and "aqua theater" faded as a genre. Perhaps the attention to historical detail mixed with uncompromising violence that characterizes a full-blooded naumachia can only really belong to the Roman age.

HISTORIAN MARIA ENGRACIA MUÑOZ-SANTOS IS A SPECIALIST IN PUBLIC SPECTACLES IN ANTIQUITY

NAUMACHIA AUGUSTI

In 2 B.C. Augustus held a spectacular naumachia in which around 30 ships clashed.

Augustus ordered a performance of the Battle of Salamis, in which the Greeks routed the Persians in 480 B.C.

The pool was filled with water from the Aqua Alsietina, a new aqueduct with a daily flow of roughly four million gallons.

A Lost Lake

AN ARTIST'S reconstruction of the Naumachia Augusti, built on the orders of Augustus to celebrate the inauguration of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 B.C. Dug on the right bank of the Tiber River, it remained in use until the end of the first century A.D. No remains of the structure have yet been found, and its exact location is not known.

According to Augustus, the lake measured 1,800 x 1,200 Roman feet. It must have been at least five feet deep to bear the ships.
The ships may have accessed the lake through a canal from the Tiber

"I gave the people a spectacle of a naval battle, in the place across the Tiber where the grove of the Caesars is now, with the ground excavated in length 1,800 feet, in width 1,200, in which 30 beaked ships—biremes or triremes, but many smaller—fought among themselves; in these ships about 3,000 men fought in addition to the rowers."

AUGUSTUS, *RES GESTAE*

HAND ON HEART

"Portrait of Martin Luther as a Young Man" by Lucas Cranach the Elder depicts the Protestant founder as a simple, sincere monk. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Letters of indulgence, like this one granted in 1512 (opposite), sparked Luther's revolt in 1517.

PORTRAIT: SCALA, FLORENCE
INDULGENCE: AKG/ALBUM

LUTHER'S LEGACY

Five hundred years ago, a German friar sparked a religious revolution. Martin Luther's publication of his groundbreaking Ninety-Five Theses changed the face of Christianity and plunged Europe into centuries of religious strife.

JOSEP PALAU ORTA

The Christian religion faced one of its most significant controversies thanks to a thunderstorm. In 1505 a promising law student at the University of Erfurt in Germany changed the course of his life after surviving a terrible ordeal. The young scholar's name was Martin Luther. The weather set him on a collision course with Rome and would trigger a crisis of faith in Western Christianity.

Luther came from a well-heeled family in the central region of Saxony. Luther was born in Eisleben in November 1483. Shortly after his birth, the family moved about 10 miles away to the town of Mansfeld. A successful businessman in copper mining and refining, his father, Hans, had young Martin educated at a local Latin school and later at schools in Magdeburg and Eisenach. In 1501, at age 19, he enrolled in the University of Erfurt to continue his studies.

In 1505 he was returning to Erfurt after visiting his parents. The 21-year-old looked to be on a successful path as a lawyer. And then it happened: a violent thunderstorm with raging winds and driving rain. "[I was] besieged by the terror and agony of sudden death," the young Luther later recalled. In his panic he made a terror-stricken vow to St. Anne. He would join a religious order, he promised, if only she would save his life.

Biographies of the founder of the Protestant Reformation point out that a deep sense of religious turmoil probably shaped Luther's thoughts long before the storm. Even so, following his safe deliverance from the tempest, Luther kept his promise and, to the dismay of his father, abandoned his legal education to join the strictly observant Augustinian monastery in Erfurt. It was a decisive, stubborn act, mixed with a deep sense of religious vocation—an attitude he would display for the rest of his remarkable and turbulent life.

CAMEO OF LEO X, POPE AT THE TIME OF LUTHER'S 1517 REVOLT. SILVER MUSEUM, PITTI PALACE, FLORENCE
BRIDGEMAN/AC

A Rising Storm

During his first years at the monastery, Luther did not seem to be especially subversive. He quickly made a name for himself not only with his brilliance as a theologian but also with his meticulous observance of the harsh rules governing life in the monastery; he fasted, prayed, and confessed. Content with just a table and chair in his unheated room, he would rise in the early morning hours to pray matins and lauds. By the fall of 1506 he had gained full admission to the order.

Luther continued his theological education after becoming a monk. In 1507 he was ordained by the Bishop of Brandenburg. In 1508 he taught theology at the newly founded University of Wittenberg, where he also received two bachelor degrees.

In 1510 Luther's studies were interrupted by a political crisis that engulfed the Augustinians. The current pope, Julius II, had decided to merge two opposed branches (the observant and nonobservant) of the order, a plan that horrified Luther's strictly observant monastery. Luther was chosen by his superiors to defend the views

Pope Leo X excommunicated Martin Luther in 1521 for his controversial writings.

A SAFE STRONGHOLD
Outlawed for having defended his ideas at the Diet of Worms in 1521, Luther took refuge here in Wartburg Castle, under the protection of Frederick the Wise of Saxony. In this medieval fortress, which stands more than a thousand feet above the forest of Thuringia, Luther made his translation of the New Testament into German.
ERNST WRBA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

WRITINGS OF A RELIGIOUS REBEL

1483
Martin Luther is born in the small town of Eisleben in Saxony, Germany.

1505
Luther leaves law school and enters the Augustinian order in the city of Erfurt. He stands out for his intellect and uncompromising piety.

1510
Luther travels to Rome, where he is scandalized by the corruption and profanity that he sees at the religious sites.

1517
On October 31 Luther ignites a firestorm, publishing his *Disputation on the Power of Indulgences*—better known as the Ninety-Five Theses.

1520
In June Pope Leo X issues a papal bull calling Luther's writings "heretical, scandalous, offensive to pious ears." Luther publicly burns a copy in December.

1521
The pope excommunicates Luther. In April, at the Diet of Worms, Luther refuses to recant his ideas. He subsequently takes refuge in Wartburg Castle.

1522
Luther publishes his German translation of the New Testament, which he worked on during his nearly yearlong stay at Wartburg castle.

Early Reformers

LUTHER WAS NOT THE FIRST to confront the Catholic Church. Writing in the 1370s and '80s, Oxford scholar John Wycliffe denounced the wealth of the church, called for a greater emphasis on scripture, and oversaw an English biblical translation. The church condemned Wycliffe, but Oxford University shielded him from arrest. In the 1400s Jan Hus, a scholar at the University of Prague, was exposed to Wycliffe's works. Hus too believed that scripture was greater than tradition and preached in his native language, Czech. His writings led him to leave Prague for fear of reprisals, but Hus was later arrested in 1414, charged with heresy, and burned at the stake in 1415. Following his death, his followers continued the fight, forming the Hussite movement which spread through what is today the Czech Republic.

DEATH OF A HERETIC
This 15th-century print (above) by Diebold Schilling the Elder depicts the burning of Czech reformist Jan Hus in 1415. A different political climate ensured Luther did not suffer the same fate a century later

of their monastery before the general Augustinian council in Rome.

In late 1510 Luther made his first—and last—visit to Rome. During his stay, the friar followed traditional pilgrimage customs. Among other observances, he climbed the steps of the St. John Lateran Basilica on his knees, reciting the Lord's Prayer on each step. It is said that during his ascent he was perplexed to find the words of the Apostle Paul coming back to him: "the righteous shall live by faith," a tenet that would form a central part of his later doctrine. During his stay, Luther found himself unsettled by the corruption and lack of spirituality he saw in Rome. He saw openly corrupt priests who sneered at the rituals of their faith. He later described his visit: "Rome is a harlot . . . The Italians mocked us for being pious monks, for they hold Christians fools. They say six or seven masses in the time it takes me to say one, for they take money for it and I do not."

After returning to Germany, Luther earned his doctorate in 1512. As a professor, he taught several classes at the University of Wittenberg. The spiritual hollowness he had seen in Rome did not break his faith with the church, but scholars believe it continued to disquiet him.

Luther Enters the Fray

The spark that ignited Luther's confrontation with Rome was the sale of "indulgences," which would lessen the impact of, or pardon, a person from their sins. In theory, indulgences were granted by the church on the condition that the recipient carried out some kind of good work or other specified acts of contrition. In practice, indulgences could be bought. The practice was abused by the church, which began relying upon their sale as a way of raising money, especially to pay for costly building projects.

Rome in the early 1500s was under the spell of the artistic projects of the Renaissance. Around 1515, Pope Leo X published a new indulgence in a bid to fund the reconstruction of the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome, entrusting Albert of Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Mainz, with promoting its sale in Germany.

Enraged, Luther took a stand against the papal actions. On October 31, 1517, he composed his *Disputation on the Power of Indulgences*, better known as the Ninety-Five Theses. According to tradition, he nailed these to the door of All Saints' Church, Wittenberg, although modern historians are somewhat skeptical that such a lengthy document could be posted in this way. Regardless of how the Ninety-Five Theses were distributed, many found Luther's arguments explosive. He argued that the practice of relying on indulgences drew believers away from the one true source of salvation: faith in Christ. God alone had the power to pardon the repentant faithful. The pontifical council ordered him to retract his claims immediately, but Luther refused.

An Elector for an Enclave

Luther's reformation was not born in a vacuum, and his fate rested as much on the turbulent politics of the day as it did on pure questions of theology. Wittenberg was part of Saxony, a state of the Holy Roman Empire, a patchwork of territories in central Europe with roots deep in the medieval past. The Holy Roman Emperor was appointed by the heads of its main states, influential rulers known as electors.

AGE FOTOS ROCK

NINETY-FIVE THESES: NAILING A MYTH

THAT MARTIN LUTHER'S Ninety-Five Theses helped launch the Reformation is beyond question. Dated October 31, 1517, Luther's letter to his superiors did include copies of the theses. But did he actually nail them to the door of Wittenberg's All Saints' Church? The historical consensus is ... probably not. Luther himself never mentioned having done so. At the time, he had no idea his theses would create such a stir and would not have seen the need to carry out such a provocative act. Nevertheless, the legend arose and gained traction. The engraving above shows Luther writing on the door and is from a 1518 German broadside marking the first anniversary of the Ninety-Five Theses. By then, the image of Luther publicly attacking papal corruption had become a potent 16th-century meme.

DISPVTATIO DE VIRTVTE INDVLGEN.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

PAGES FROM A COPY OF THE *DISPUTATION ON THE POWER OF INDULGENCES*. IN 1517 A COPY OF LUTHER'S WORK WAS SENT TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ, BUT ITS ATTACK ON CORRUPTION IN THE CHURCH ECHOED FAR BEYOND GERMANY. DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM, BERLIN

HOMETOWN HERO

Martin Luther both was born and died in Eisleben in Saxony, Germany. The bronze statue standing in the central square (above) honors the town's most famous son

SCHLIEROW/FOTOTECA 9 X 12

At the time that Luther wrote his theses, the elector of Saxony was Frederick the Wise. A humanist and a scholar, Frederick had founded the new university at Wittenberg that Luther attended. Frederick's response to Luther's theological challenge was complex. He never stopped being a Catholic, but he decided from the outset to protect the rebel friar both from the fury of the church and the Holy Roman Emperor. When in 1518 Luther was summoned to Rome, Frederick intervened on his behalf, ensuring that he would be questioned in Germany, a much safer place for him than Rome. The church was forced to respect Elector Frederick's wishes because he would be instrumental in choosing the replacement to the ailing Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I.

Safe under the wing of Frederick, Luther began to engage in regular public debate on religious reforms. He broadened his arguments, declaring that any church council or even a single believer had the right to challenge the pope, so long as they based their arguments on the Bible. He even dared to argue that the church did not rest on papal foundations but rather on faith in Christ.

Luther must have realized early on that his reform movement had a political dimension. In 1520 he wrote a treatise, "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation." It argued that all Christians could be priests from the moment of their baptism, that anyone reading the Scripture with faith had the right to interpret it, and that every believer had the right to assemble a free council. This declaration was revolutionary for the ecclesiastic hierarchy of the time.

Luther in Peril

In January 1521 a papal decree was published under which Luther was declared a heretic and excommunicated. Under normal circumstances, this sentence would have meant a trial and, most likely, execution. But these were no ordinary times. Both Frederick and widespread German public opinion demanded that Luther be given a proper hearing. The newly elected Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, finally acquiesced and called Luther to come before the Imperial Diet (assembly) to be held that spring in the ancient Rhineland city of Worms.

On his journey to Worms Luther was acclaimed almost as a messiah by the citizens of the towns he passed through. On his arrival in Worms in April 1521, crowds gathered to see the man who embodied the struggle against the seemingly all-powerful Catholic Church. Once inside the episcopal palace, Luther was met by young Charles V, princes, imperial electors, and other dignitaries. When charged, Luther said that he stood by every one of his published claims.

The Archbishop of Trier urged him to retract his theses, and Luther asked for time for consideration. After a night of reflection, he remained steadfast. His writings, he maintained, were based on Scripture; on his conscience, he declared he could not recant anything "for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe." He is said to have concluded with the famous words in German: "*Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders*—Here I stand, I can do no other."

The Revolution Spreads

Luther left Worms unbowed, but his life was in peril. Charles V signed an edict naming him and his followers political outlaws and demanded their writings be burned. Seized by his protector, Frederick, Luther was granted sanctuary in the castle of Wartburg until the situation evolved and the danger passed.

Despite his absence, Luther's words and writings were spreading like wildfire throughout

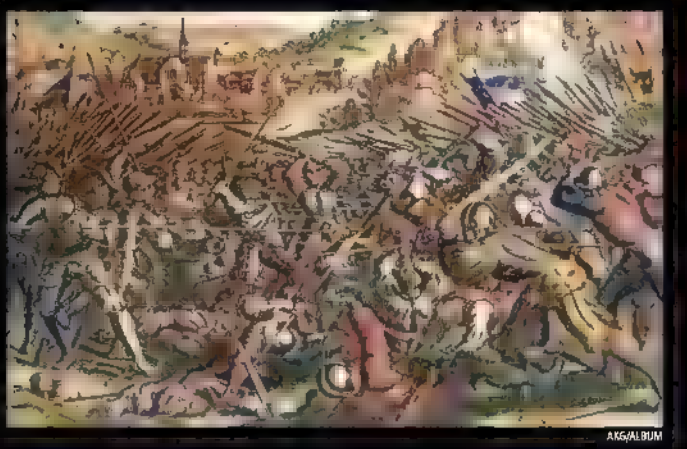
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

PORTRAIT OF LUTHERAN CHRISTIANITY

THIS ALTARPIECE by Lucas Cranach the Younger was made for the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Weimar in 1555. It illustrates the central tenet of Martin Luther's ideology: that salvation is attained only through personal faith and the reading of the Holy Scriptures. ❶ Luther appears, bottom right, holding a Bible and pointing to a passage from the First Letter of St. John: "The blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin." ❷ A stream of blood from Christ Crucified reaches the artist's father, ❸ Lucas Cranach the Elder, who represents those "true" believers who receive salvation without any kind of mediation from a priest or the Catholic hierarchy. Beside him, ❹ John the Baptist points to Christ and his representation as the ❺ Lamb of God "who takes away the sins of the world." ❻ The resurrected Christ pierces the devil. In the background are other biblical stories, including ❼ Moses calling out those who do not keep the Commandments.

Zwingli in Zürich

LUTHER'S REVOLT inspired other religious leaders in cities outside Germany such as Strasbourg, Geneva, Basel, and Lucca. In Zürich Huldrych Zwingli,a Swiss leader of the Reformation, persuaded the city council and a large part of the population to accept a full program for the strict observance of the Gospel. Priestly celibacy was abolished. Baptism and the Eucharist were still celebrated as sacraments, but the belief that during the Mass the bread and wine actually turned into the body and blood of Christ was abandoned. In Zwingli's view, the Eucharist became a symbolic rite in remembrance of Christ's sacrifice. Sacred music was prohibited, and paintings in churches were destroyed. An army of preachers was chosen to go out into the city and foment this radical new teaching.



AKG/ALBUM

DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH

A 17th-century engraving (above) shows the 1531 Second Battle of Kappel in which Swiss Catholics crushed Zürich Protestants led by Zwingli. His body was later burned as a heretic by the victors.

Germany, thanks in part to the printing revolution. Luther's declarations at Worms sparked a revolutionary spirit that had been smoldering among the German people, many of who were tired of seeing their earnings gobbled up by the church. Supported by their rulers, also eyeing the opportunity of greater freedom from Rome, a host of reformers came forward in support of Lutheran principles.

Some, to Luther's dismay, went very much further. Just after Christmas, in 1521, the so-called Zwickau prophets foretold the imminent return of Christ. They wanted to tear down and destroy all religious images, statues, and altarpieces. They even proposed radical changes to the sacraments, the most dramatic of which was their rejection of the rite of baptism for children and a demand that adults be rebaptized. It was from this element that Anabaptism—from the Latin *anabaptista*, meaning "one who baptizes over again"—grew. Despite savage repression, Anabaptism periodically flared up during the following years.

Another serious threat to the established order was the struggle unleashed by the peasants in 1524 and 1525. The ideas of equality and social justice inherent in Luther's reform were seized upon by a rural society hungry for change. A revolt erupted across huge swaths of Germany.

Luther may have been a theological radical, but he was not a social reformer. On hearing news of these movements, he voiced his opposition. Having left Wartburg Castle in 1522, he upbraided all Christians who were taking part in insurrections against authority. In an essay entitled "Against the Murderous and Robbing Hordes of the Peasants" (1525), he condemned the peasant violence as work of the devil. He called out for the nobility to track down the rebels like they would rabid dogs as, "nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful and devilish than a rebel." Without Luther's backing, the radical revolution was dealt a death blow. In May 1525 the peasants were defeated in Frankenhausen, and their leader was executed.

An Unstoppable Force

When the Holy Roman Empire attempted to harden its line against Lutheranism and the wider reform movement at the Diet of Speyer in 1529, the pro-reform German princes dissented, or "protested." Luther spent the rest of his life consolidating this new "Protestant" movement, whose tenets were spreading across Europe to Strasbourg, Zürich, Geneva, and Basel.

Luther's efforts created a great rift in Western Christianity and dominated European politics for several centuries as western Europe split into a largely Catholic south and a Protestant north. France straddled the fault line, and for much of the later 16th century was engulfed by religious conflict. The Lutheran doctrine, combined with Tudor power politics, led to England's ultimate break from Rome in 1534. Years of Catholic-Protestant tensions in England prompted the Pilgrims to embark for the New World in the *Mayflower*, and laid the foundations for the English Civil War—events that stemmed from the actions of an obscure monk, on an October day exactly five hundred years ago.

HISTORIAN AND AUTHOR **JOSEP PALAU ORTA** IS A SPECIALIST IN RELIGION IN 16TH-CENTURY EUROPE

PEACE AT LAST

Rebuilt in the early 1500s on the site of an earlier church, All Saints' Church in Wittenberg, is where Martin Luther was laid to rest in 1546. Tradition claims that Luther nailed the Ninety-five Theses to the doors of this church in 1517.

MICHAEL IMAGE PORTFOLIO

REVOLUTIONARY AIM
Red Guards pose in the street during the 1917 October Revolution, which the Bolshevik Party led by Vl... seized power.
TATE, LONDON/ALEXANDER RODCHENKO

1917

RUSSIA'S YEAR

TORN APART BY WAR AND HUNGER. UNITED BY A DESIRE FOR CHANGE: THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE STARTED A REVOLUTION IN FEBRUARY 1917. IN THE MONTHS THAT FOLLOWED, ONE LEADER—VLADIMIR LENIN—SURVIVED THE CHAOTIC STRUGGLE FOR POWER TO LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR THE SOVIET UNION.

ORLANDO FIGES

OF REVOLUTION

THE SPARK ON FEBRUARY 23, INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, THOUSANDS OF WOMEN PROTESTED IN PETROGRAD, DEMANDING MORE GENEROUS RATIONS, AN END TO THE WAR, AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Its events paved the way for the Soviet Union. It dominated the politics of the 20th century, and it has left an indelible mark on the contemporary world. But when Russia's year of revolution began in the bitterly cold February of 1917, many revolutionaries did not, at first, pay much attention.

The first sign that something big was happening was on International Women's Day—February 23, 1917,* in the old Russian calendar. Crowds of female factory workers gathered in the center of Petrograd, the Russian capital (formerly known as St. Petersburg). Even as disaffected and hungry workers, male and female, joined in the protests, some revolutionaries remained skeptical. Aleksandr Shlyapnikov was a leading figure of the Bolshevik movement, whose leader, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, had been living outside Russia for long periods of time since 1900. Shlyapnikov observed on February 25: "Give the workers a pound of bread and the movement will peter out."

Hunger, War, Rage

Despite initial doubts that the growing February protests would amount to much, many observers at the time—

* ALL DATES ARE FROM THE JULIAN CALENDAR EMPLOYED IN RUSSIA AT THE TIME (13 DAYS BEHIND THE GREGORIAN CALENDAR USED IN EUROPE AND THE U.S.). IN FEBRUARY 1918 THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT SWITCHED TO THE GREGORIAN SYSTEM.

NICHOLAS II: UNPREPARED FOR REVOLUTION

Tsar Nicholas II Romanov—born Nikolay Aleksandrovich in 1868—had grown up in the shadow of his father, Alexander III. A staunch opponent of democracy, the bearded, burly Alexander was known for his habit of crashing through locked doors and being able to bend silver coins with his powerful thumb. His son worshipped his father, even though Alexander openly regarded his heir as a weakling and nicknamed him "girlie."

WHEN Nicholas ascended to the imperial throne in 1894, he understood little of modern Russia, whose ever more educated, urban, and restless society was on a collision course with his autocratic instincts. Russia's 1904-05 war with Japan ended in humiliation and revolution in the streets of St. Petersburg. The cocktail of war and revolt would prove his undoing a decade later, even though Russia entered World War I in 1914 on a surge of patriotism. His decision to take supreme command of the armed forces—and the influence of the sinister monk Rasputin over his wife—lost Nicholas crucial support. Not even his abdication in March 1917 would save him from the Bolsheviks. The Romanov family was held in a house in Yekaterinburg until July 1918, when Nicholas, his wife, and their five children were murdered in the cellar.

NICHOLAS II ROMANOV IN A PHOTOGRAPH
MUSEJM TSARSKOYE SELO, ST. PETERSBURG
BRIDGEMAN/AC

Bolshevik uprising and date
Lenin's train route, Zürich to Petrograd (Mar. 28–Apr. 3, 1917)
Line of foreign occupation of Russian territory at the time of the armistice, 1917
Line of foreign occupation of Russian territory at the time of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918
Territory lost by Russia following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918
Boundaries are shown as of 1914
Dates are from the Julian (Old Style) calendar
NG MAPS
Norwegian Sea
North Sea
Baltic Sea
White Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finland
Tornio
Helsinki
Stockholm
Petrograd 25 Oct
Novgorod 25 Oct
Pskov 2 Nov
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Riga
DENMARK
Malmö
Trelleborg
Sassnitz
Hamburg
Berlin
Amsterdam
NETH
Frankfurt
LUX.
Stuttgart
Zürich
Genève
SWITZ.
FR
GERMAN EMPIRE
Poland
AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE
ITALY
Minsk 25 Oct
Mogilev 18 Nov
Vitebsk 27 Oct
Smolensk 30 Oct
Gomel 30 Oct
Moscow 2 Nov
Tver 28 Oct
Yaroslavl 2 Oct
Kostroma 2 Dec.
Ivanovo 2 Oct
Nizhny Novgorod 28 Oct
Izhevsk 27 Oct
Kazan 26 Oct
Samara 27 Oct
Tambov 31 Oct
Orel 1 Nov
Kaluga 28 Nov
Tula 7 Dec
Saratov 27 Oct
Voronezh 30 Oct
Tsaritsyn 14 Nov
Rostov 28 Oct
RUSSIA
Ukraine
Kishinev 27 Nov
ROMANIA
SERBIA
MONT.
BULGARIA
ALBAN.
GREECE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PERSIA
0 200 kilometers
0 200 miles

FALLEN FROM GRACE AFTER NICHOLAS II ABDICATED IN FEBRUARY 1917 LIKENESSES OF THE TSARS WERE VANDALIZED THROUGHOUT RUSSIA, SUCH AS THIS STATUE OF NICHOLAS'S FATHER, ALEXANDER III.

FINE ART/ALBUM

including Lenin's Bolsheviks, Russian liberals, and foreign diplomats—were nevertheless certain that a revolution was only a matter of time.

The roots of Russia's turmoil ran deep. During a devastating famine in the early 1890s, the inability of the government to provide sufficient relief had fanned revolutionary fervor in the country. In the cities, the appalling exploitation and squalor suffered by the workers triggered waves of protests and strikes.

The pressures of industrialization were worsened by the actions of Tsar Nicholas II. Reigning from 1894, Nicholas had inherited Russia's colossal empire and the autocratic ideas of his family, the Romanov dynasty. In 1905 the tsar's popularity was ebbing due to continuing domestic problems as well as an unpopular war with Japan. During a peaceful demonstration in St. Petersburg in January 1905, protesters were fired on and killed, an event that triggered months of protests.

The revolt continued throughout the year. In the fall of 1905 Tsar Nicholas finally compromised. He issued the October Manifesto, which laid the groundwork for the protection of civil rights, the creation of a constitution, and the establishment of a parliament called the Duma. These concessions appeased enough of the revolutionaries for Nicholas to stay in power.

Many others viewed the October Manifesto as too little, too late. Inspired by the writings of Karl Marx (1818–1883), who foresaw a revolt in which laborers would become the ruling class,

THE ROOTS OF REVOLUTION

In January 1905 revolution erupted in Russia when the tsar's forces fired on and killed hundreds of protesters in St. Petersburg; similar strikes and protests followed throughout Russia. The Revolution of 1905 came to an end when Nicholas II placated the people with reform, including a parliament and a national constitution. For the next decade, several political factions continued to clash with each other as the monarchy clung to power. Bolsheviks like Trotsky and Lenin honed their ideas and waited in prison and exile for the next phase. In 1917 another revolution would arrive.

LIBERALS: CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, LED BY PAVEL MILYUKOV

Founded during the Revolution of 1905, the CDP was dominated by liberal aristocrats and middle-class professionals who aimed to replace the autocracy of the tsars with a constitutional democracy along British lines. Led by historian Pavel Milyukov, many "Kadets" were scholars and intellectuals. The party was often portrayed by its rivals as patrician and out of touch. The Bolsheviks declared the party illegal in December 1917, and Milyukov died while in exile in France.

PAVEL MILYUKOV (1859–1943)

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

ST. PETERSBURG. PAINTING BY IVAN VLADIMIROV, CA 1940. STATE CENTRAL MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF RUSSIA, MOSCOW
1905
1917

REVOLUTION OF 1905

In January royal forces strike down hundreds of protesters in St. Petersburg, leading to revolt. In October the first soviet ("workers' council") is set up; the tsar enacts reforms and holds onto power.

FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

Frustrated by food shortages, violence erupts in Petrograd. In March the tsar abdicates. Power is shared between the Provisional Government and the soviets.

IG/BRIDGEMAN/AL

2 Agrarian Left: Socialist Revolutionary Party, co-founded by Aleksandr Kerensky

Formed in 1900 from a merger of leftist parties, the "SRs" were the largest Russian left-wing group by 1917. Reflecting the predominately rural nature of Russia, the party's ideas were focused on radical land reform, and saw its defense of the peasants as a principal point of difference with Lenin's party. Despite its involvement in terrorist acts, its leading figure in 1917 was the respected moderate Aleksandr Kerensky, who became prime minister after the unrest of the July Days, an unsuccessful workers' revolt. Following the outlawing of the SR party later that year by the Bolsheviks, Kerensky fled Russia. He spent his later life as a university lecturer in the United States, where he died in 1970.

BRIDGEMAN/AC

3 The Marxist Left: Social-Democratic Workers' Party, led by Vladimir Lenin

Founded in 1898, the SDWP believed that industrial, urban workers rather than the peasantry would spearhead the longed-for revolution in Russia. Many of its leaders went into exile. A dispute in London in 1903 between its leaders—Vladimir Lenin and L. Martov—split the party into Lenin's Bolsheviks ("the majority faction") and Martov's Mensheviks ("the minority faction"). The root of the split was Lenin's insistence that the party only consist of a small number of professional revolutionaries rather than build broad support. Lenin's ruthless vision served him well in 1917, when his faction, although outnumbered at that time, seized power and suppressed opposition

THE PATH TO POWER

APRIL

Lenin returns to Russia from exile in a sealed train. Upon arrival, he undermines the Provisional Government and calls for "All power to the soviets."

MAY-JUNE

Appointed minister of war, Kerensky attempts to boost the Russian war effort with a strong offensive against Germany, which fails and weakens faith in the Provisional Government.

JULY

Dubbed the July Days, a workers' revolt in Petrograd falters. Kerensky becomes prime minister and cracks down on Bolsheviks. Lenin flees to Finland.

SEPTEMBER

General Kornilov fails in his attempt to impose martial law. The Bolsheviks remain popular and win large majorities in the soviets in cities across Russia.

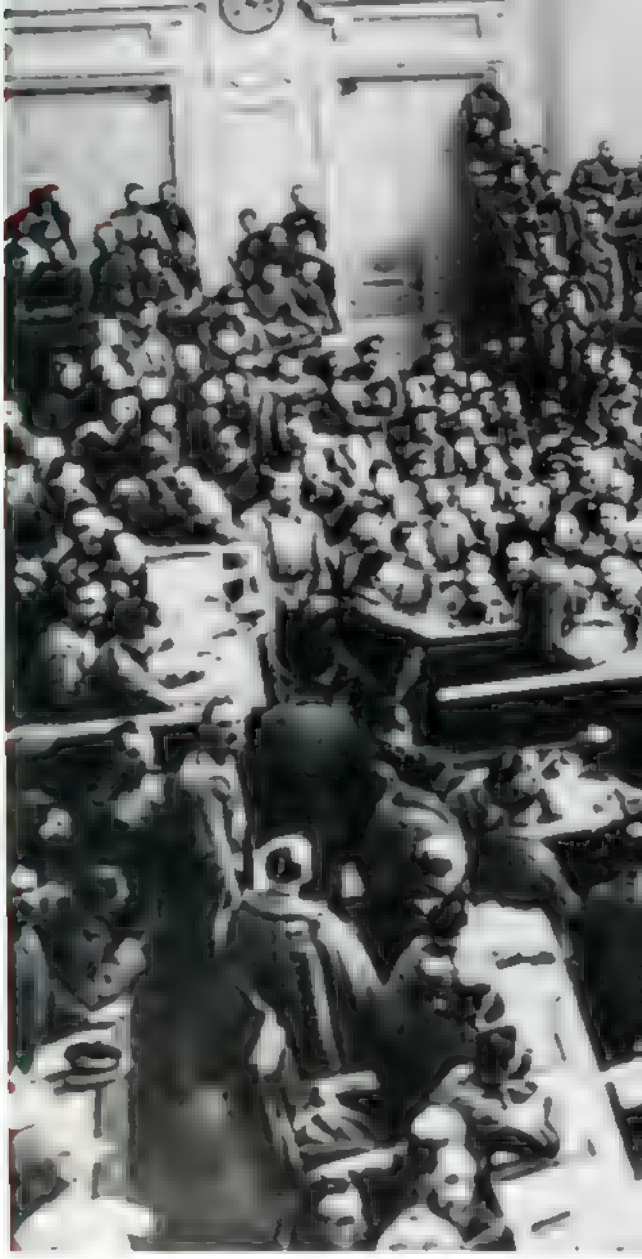
OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Lenin secretly returns to Petrograd, and the Bolsheviks take control of its garrison on October 24. The next night, a group storms the Winter Palace, seat of the Provisional Government, arrests Kerensky, and seizes power.

NOVEMBER

The Bolsheviks begin to lay the foundations for their government. Lenin is chair of the Council of People's Commissars, or Sovnarkom, which will become the center of executive power.

ARTISTIC LICENSE MIKHAIL SOKOLOV'S 1930S PAINTING OF LENIN ARRIVING BY TRAIN IN PETROGRAD INSERTS A CHARACTER WHO DID NOT TRAVEL WITH LENIN: JOSEPH STALIN, WHO APPEARS STANDING BEHIND THE BOLSHEVIK LEADER.



RETURN TO RUSSIA

AS LENIN OBSERVED WORLD WAR I FROM EXILE, the Germans observed the deteriorating domestic situation of its enemy Russia. They proposed to allow Lenin to return to Russia in late March in the hopes that his presence would lead to more chaos and further weaken the country. Fellow Russian exiles viewed Lenin as a traitor for making a deal with Russia's enemy, but Lenin, his wife, and a group of fellow émigrés made the voyage anyway. They boarded a "sealed train" that would travel through Switzerland to Sweden. On arrival at Petrograd's Finland Station on April 3, Lenin undermined the Provisional Government by declaring, "All power to the soviets." Germany's gamble that Lenin would increase destabilization in Russia paid off. Later, British prime minister Winston Churchill assessed the move: "They turned upon Russia the most grisly of weapons. They transported Lenin in a sealed truck like a plague bacillus."

revolutionary figures, such as Lenin, continued to agitate against the tsar.

Just under a decade later, unresolved social and economic tensions were magnified by Russia's entry into World War I in 1914. Located near the front line with Germany, Petrograd (the former St. Petersburg) swarmed with soldiers and hungry workers, who toiled in the shadow of the city's lavish palaces. Exhausted by the war and food shortages, by early 1917 Petrograd was a powder keg of despair and anger with those in power.

What happened next was not just a revolution, but multiple revolutions; a rejection not just of the state, but of all figures of authority: judges, policemen, government officials, army and navy officers, priests, teachers, employers,

landowners, village elders, and patriarchally minded fathers and husbands.

The February Revolution

Contrary to Shlyapnikov's prediction that the protests would peter out, the unrest snowballed in the last days of February. Red flags and banners began to appear, calling for the downfall of the monarchy.

Despite the turmoil, the authorities could have contained the situation if they had avoided open conflict with the crowds. But the forces of the tsar opened fire, killing protesters. The demonstrations began to turn into a full-scale revolution as angry protesters broke into the barracks of the city's Pavlovsky Regiment. Rather than attack them, the soldiers joined the protesters, some even firing on their own officers.

The authorities were, by now, almost deprived of military power in the capital. The expansion of the revolt led some to assume that events were being orchestrated by socialist parties. In fact, they were driven by many individuals: soldiers, workers, and students, people whose names never made it into the history books.

On February 27 a crowd came to the Tauride Palace—the seat of the Duma—looking for leaders. A workers' council, known as a soviet, was

THE SOVIET GATHERS
A meeting of the Petrograd Soviet ("workers' council"), March 1917. The power struggle between the soviet and the Provisional Government was a constant source of tension throughout that year

DAVID KING COLLECTION/ALBUM

THE AUTHORITIES COULD HAVE AVOIDED CONFLICT WITH THE CROWDS. BUT THE TSAR'S FORCES OPENED FIRE, KILLING PROTESTERS.

LENIN AND THE TRUTH
Lenin reading *Pravda* ("truth," in Russian), the official newspaper of the Bolsheviks The publ cation helped make the party popular among soldiers and workers.
FINE ART/ALBUM

elected. The majority of the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet had no intention of taking power. Instead, they wanted the Duma leaders to form a government in line with the doctrine laid down by Karl Marx: That in a country such as Russia, the first step toward a socialist order would be taken by bourgeois democrats. On March 1, a provisional government was formed. The soviet pledged to support it as long as it adhered to a comprehensive list of democratic principles.

Nothing less than Tsar Nicholas's abdication, meanwhile, could save the war campaign against Germany—all his senior generals told him so. The Duma also called on him to stand down. On March 2, 1917, Nicholas II gave up the throne. The end of the monarchy was marked by scenes of rejoicing throughout the Russian Empire. Symbols of monarchical power—emblems, coats of arms, double-headed eagles, and tsarist statues—were destroyed.

DISCONTENT SPREAD FROM THE CITIES TO THE COUNTRYSIDE. EXPECTATIONS SOARED. STRIKERS CALLED FOR SHORTER DAYS AND WORKERS' CONTROL OF FACTORIES.

The Freest Country

Although the Provisional Government saw itself as an interim body to guide the country through the war and the ongoing political upheaval, it nevertheless enacted significant reforms. Led by Prime Minister Prince Georgy Lvov, a liberal reformer, and Minister of Justice Aleksandr Kerensky—the lone socialist and only government figure who was also a member of the soviet—it swept away the old laws of the tsarist regime against freedoms of speech and assembly. Russia was transformed into what Lenin called the "freest country in the world."

From exile in Switzerland, the Bolshevik leader followed the rapid course of events in Petrograd with frustration. He finally returned to Russia on a sealed train provided by the Germans, who were hoping that his opposition to the war would undermine the Russian war effort. On April 3 Lenin arrived at Petrograd's Finland Station with a 10-point program—his April Theses (later published in *Pravda*, the Bolshevik newspaper)—for a second revolution based on "power to the soviets."

Lenin's writings ran counter to Marxist theory because they rejected the need for the first phase—the "bourgeois-democratic" revolution. Even so, Lenin managed to win the Bolshevik Party around to his theses. Mass enrollments of workers and soldiers drawn to his charisma aided his cause. These new members knew little about Marxist theory and valued his efficiency: Why wait to reach socialism in two stages when they could get there in one?

Discontent continued to spread throughout Russia from the cities to the countryside. Workers' expectations soared: Strikers called for an eight-hour day and workers' control of the factories. As part of the wider crisis in authority, the Petrograd Soviet had limited control over revolts in the provinces and agrarian communities. Local towns and regions behaved as if they were independent of the nation. As in 1905, the village commune was the organizing kernel of the revolution in the countryside, as land and livestock were seized. Soldiers had their own committees, which supervised relations with the officers. Some soldiers refused to fight for more than eight hours a day, claiming the same rights as the workers.

CLASHES ON THE STREETS OF PETROGRAD DURING THE JULY DAYS. PHOTO BY VIKTOR BULLA, JULY 5, 1917

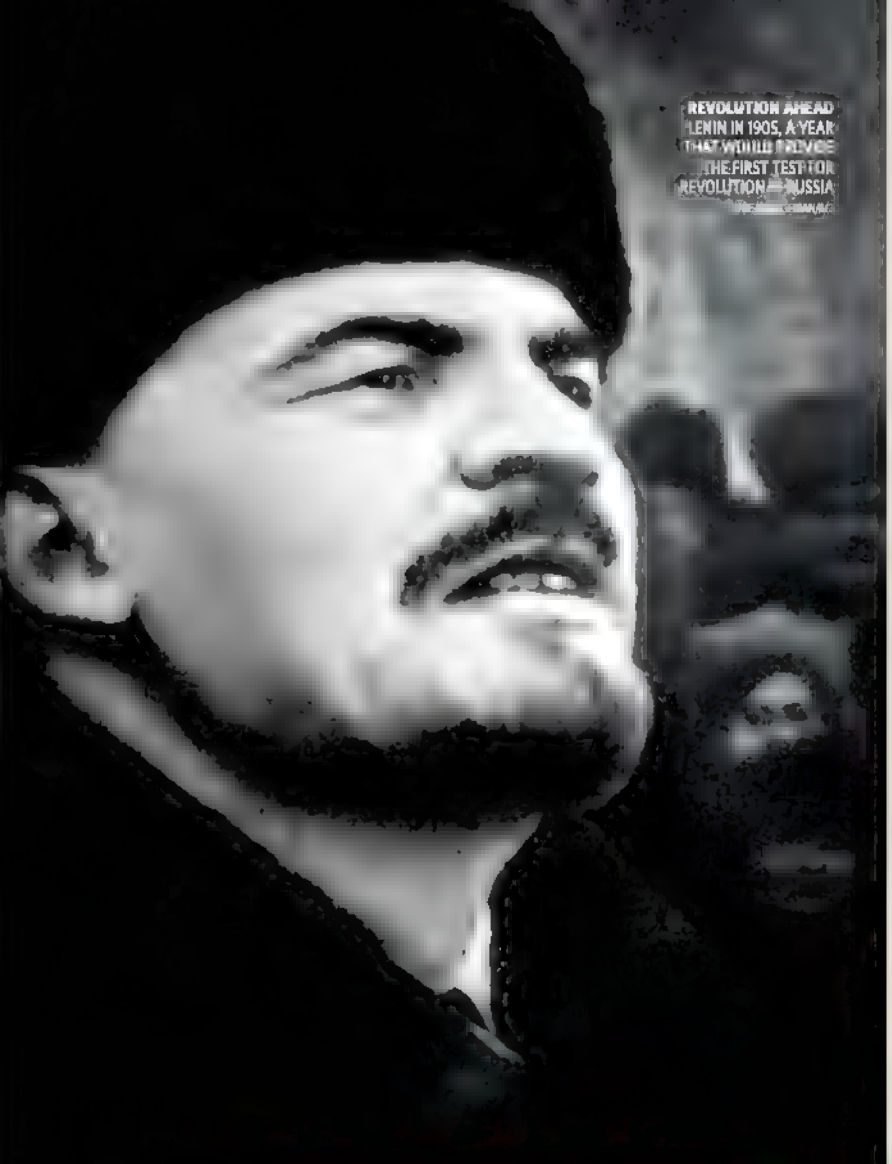
The Road to Civil War

For the leaders of the Provisional Government, the preservation of the Russian state depended on the success of the military. Defeat by Germany could mean a return to the old order and restoration of the Romanov dynasty. Under pressure from the Allies, Russia launched a new offensive in mid-June 1917. For two days the Russians advanced, but on the third, they were pushed back by a German counteroffensive.

Alarmed by the German advance, the Provisional Government mobilized the First Machine-Gun Regiment, which comprised most of the pro-Bolshevik soldiers in the Petrograd Garrison. Accusing the government of using the German offensive as an excuse to disperse Bolshevik elements, the regiment

THE SUMMER OF THEIR DISCONTENT

THE JULY DAYS were three tumultuous days that initially began as peaceful demonstrations in Petrograd against the Provisional Government, headed by Prince Lvov. Workers and soldiers took to the streets on July 3, 1917, but on July 4 violence broke out. The Provisional Government could not control the riots, the Petrograd Soviet did not step in, and the Bolsheviks would not endorse the revolt. Without a leader and a goal, the protest lost focus and momentum, but the fragile government had been damaged. Lvov resigned, and Aleksandr Kerensky became prime minister. He used this moment as an opportunity to discredit the Bolsheviks, by publicizing Lenin's financial ties with Germany. As public opinion turned against the Bolsheviks, many leaders—including Leon Trotsky—were jailed, but Lenin was able to escape to exile in Finland.



REVOLUTION AHEAD LENIN IN 1905, A YEAR THAT WOULD PROVE THE FIRST TEST FOR REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

VLADIMIR ILICH ULYANOV

LENIN WAS ONCE DESCRIBED BY RUSSIAN NOVELIST MAKSIM GORKY AS "A MAN WHO EMBODIED GENIUS MORE STRIKINGLY THAN ALL THE GREAT MEN OF HIS DAY." GORKY ALSO CALLED HIM "A COLD-BLOODED TRICKSTER WHO SPARES NEITHER THE HONOR NOR THE LIVES OF THE PROLETARIAT." COMPLEX AND ENIGMATIC, THE REVOLUTIONARY LENIN CONTINUES TO DEFY EASY CHARACTERIZATION.

LENIN

NOT THE LAST OF HER TROUBLES ON MAY 5, 1887, LEN N'S MOTHER MAR A—A..READY A W DOW—LEARNED ABOUT THE EXECUT ON OF HER E..DEST SON, A..EKSANDR. 20TH-CENTURY L THOGRAPH
BRIDGEMAN/AC

Viktor Chernov, a member of the Provisional Government toppled by the October Revolution, wrote: "Lenin's devotion to the revolutionary cause permeates his entire being." His diagnosis was shared by friend and foe alike

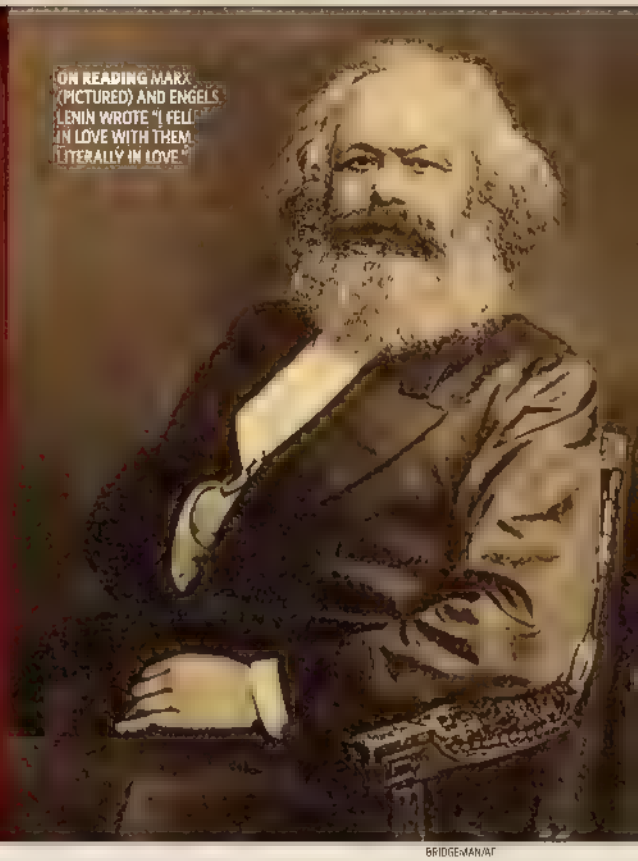
BORN Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, Lenin grew up in a well-to-do family in a city some 550 miles east of Moscow. Vladimir's elder brother, Aleksandr, proved that revolution was in the family's DNA. A participant in a clumsy attempt to assassinate Tsar Alexander III in 1887, Aleksandr Ulyanov was executed at age 21. It seems probable that this [illegible] influenced both Lenin's worldview and his (later) distaste for individual acts of terrorism as a political tool.

LENIN was also politically rebellious; he was arrested in

NADYA OUTLIVED HER HUSBAND BY 15 YEARS. SHE LATER ALLIED WITH TROTSKY AGAINST STALIN.
SZPHOTO/BRIDGEMAN/AD

MARX AND LENIN: THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

Karl Marx died in 1883 when Lenin was 12 years old. Defined in works such as *The Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital*, Marx's brand of socialism, known as communism, had become the type most favored among European left-wing revolutionary thinkers. It was defined by "historical materialism," an idea that argued that society and its political structures are shaped by the economic reality of the time. Analyzing the economic—and therefore, social—evolution of humanity, Marx considered that he could scientifically predict the later stages of capitalism. First, a revolution would be led by the bourgeoisie. Then, a revolution led by the workers would establish a dictatorship that would eventually lead to communism and freedom for all. Even though Lenin would become an ardent follower of Marxist doctrine, he would be an impatient one. Marx's prophecy contemplated the eventual downfall of ripe, capitalist societies—not budding, semifeudal ones like Russia in the early 20th century. In 1917 Lenin quickly realized that the revolution could not wait to pass through the bourgeois stage envisaged by Marx. Lenin directed his efforts into seizing power and establishing a dictatorship of the workers. Marx's last stage—freedom for all—never materialized.



ON READING MARX (PICTURED) AND ENGELS LENIN WROTE "I FELL IN LOVE WITH THEM. LITERALLY IN LOVE."

BRIDGEMAN/AT

A PROPAGANDA TOOL STALIN USED LENIN'S IMAGE TO VALIDATE HIS OWN POSITION. POSTER, STATE RUSSIAN MUSEUM

CULTURE-IMAGES/ALBUM

St. Petersburg for sedition and exiled to Siberia in 1897. The next year he married schoolteacher Nadezhda Konstantinova Krupskaya, known as Nadya. Even though she had initially disliked Vladimir, she soon saw in him a kindred spirit, as devoted to revolution as she. They lived in many places during exile, including London and Geneva. The two did not have children but were wholly committed to the Bolshevik cause.

THE ALIAS "Lenin" first emerges in the pages of *Iskra* (*The Spark*), the revolutionary newspaper Lenin founded in 1900. It was when Lenin was living in London that he met one of the men who would prove a valuable asset in 1917: Lev Bronstein, better known as Leon Trotsky ("the pen"). A later falling-out between the two men was patched up after the revolution broke out.

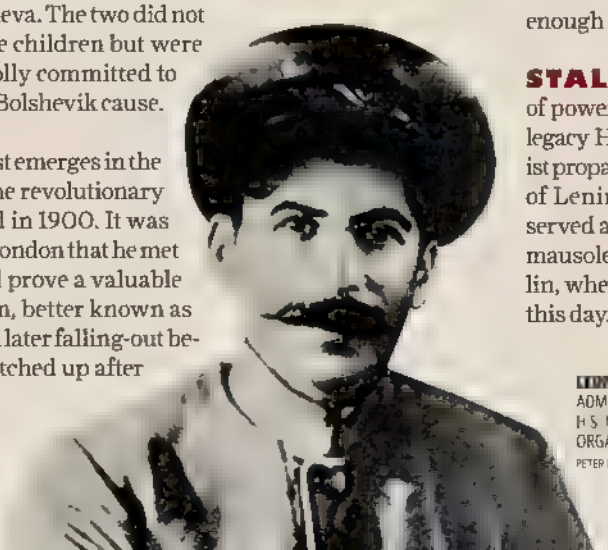
"THE WONDERFUL GEORGIAN"

Even though this was Lenin's initial appraisal of Iosif Vissarionovich, better known as Joseph Stalin—"man of steel"—(below), he came to mistrust him in later years. By then, Stalin had secured his position as Lenin's successor

GRANGER COLLECTION/AGE FOTOSTOCK

LENIN DIED at the age of 53 in 1924, after surviving an assasination attempt in 1918 and a series of strokes that followed, including one that semiparalyzed him in 1922. Semiretired, he continued to keep a hand in governing despite his poor health. Before a final stroke left him unable to speak in 1923, Lenin wrote a testament outlining his concerns and suggestions for the future. In it, he criticized many figures, including Trotsky and Joseph Stalin, then the general secretary of the party's Central Committee, whom Lenin felt should be removed. Nadya released the testament after Lenin's death, but by that time Stalin and his allies had grown powerful enough to quash its influence.

STALIN was able to keep hold of power by manipulating Lenin's legacy. He featured Lenin on Stalinist propaganda and even made use of Lenin's body, having it preserved and placed on display in a mausoleum near the Kremlin, where it remains to this day.



LEON TROTSKY WAS ADMIRED BY LENIN FOR HIS INTELLIGENCE AND ORGANIZING ABILITY

PETER NEWARK/BRIDGEMAN/AC

GENERAL KORNILOV WAS PROMOTED TO COMMANDER IN CHIEF BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN 1917 BUT KERENSKY DIDN'T COMPLETELY TRUST HIM. EVENTUALLY HE HAD KORNILOV ARRESTED.

PVDE/BRIDGEMAN/AC

resolved to overthrow the government if it continued with its "counterrevolutionary" order.

Despite the regiment's stand, the Bolshevik leaders were more cautious. On July 4, throngs of soldiers, workers, and sailors from the Kronstadt naval base marched through the city in armed ranks. They massed in front of Bolshevik headquarters looking for instructions—but at this crucial moment, Lenin lost his nerve. He gave no call for an uprising. The failed uprising, dubbed the "July Days," was followed by a crackdown. Police stormed the Bolshevik headquarters. Hundreds of Bolsheviks were arrested, and Lenin went into exile again, this time in Finland.

Kerensky, the Provisional Government's sole socialist, was now hailed as the person to reunite the country and halt the drift toward civil war. He was the only politician with popular support yet also broadly acceptable to the military leaders and the bourgeoisie. Lvov resigned from office, and on July 8 Kerensky became prime minister.

Kerensky's tactics became more authoritarian after he took office. Kerensky passed new restrictions on public gatherings, restored the death penalty at the front, and resolved to restore military discipline.

The program of the new coalition government was no longer bound by soviet principles. The head of the army, General Kornilov, meanwhile, appeared—briefly—as a "national savior." He

READY FOR REVOLUTION
In factories, such as this one in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks recruited workers to form the units of the Red Guards, a militia that would prove to be an important actor in the revolution and its aftermath.

BPK/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

demanded a series of measures that effectively amounted to the imposition of martial law. Kerensky agreed—but then had a change of heart. He turned against Kornilov, calling on the soviet to mobilize defenders against the general's forces sent to impose order on the capital. The Bolshevik leaders were released. Red Guards organized the defense of the factories. But there was no need for fighting, as Kornilov's forces were persuaded by soviet agitators to lay down their arms.

Kornilov was imprisoned with 30 other officers. Viewed by conservatives as political martyrs, these "Kornilovites" were later to become the founding nucleus of what became known as the White Army, soon to be pitted against the forces of the Communists (known as the Red Army) in Russia's impending civil war.

Lenin's Moment

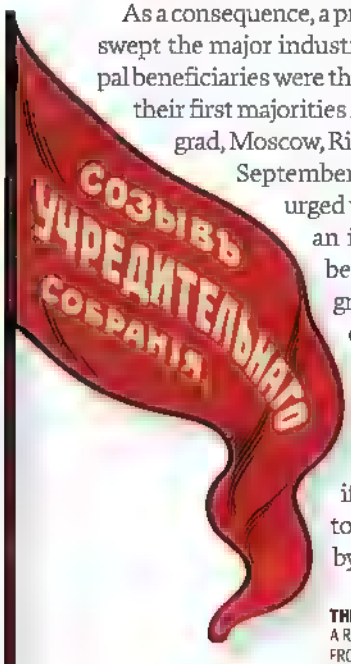
The Kornilov Affair ended up undermining Kerensky's position. Condemned on the right for betraying Kornilov, the prime minister was also widely suspected on the left of having colluded—initially, at least—with the general. Many soldiers suspected their officers of having supported Kornilov, and there was a sharp deterioration in army discipline.

As a consequence, a process of radicalization swept the major industrial cities. The principal beneficiaries were the Bolsheviks, who won their first majorities in the soviets of Petrograd, Moscow, Riga, and Saratov in early September. From Finland, Lenin urged the Bolsheviks to start an insurrection at once, before the Soviet Congress was due to convene on October 20.

"If we wait," he wrote on September 29, "we shall ruin the revolution." He knew if the transfer of power to the soviets took place by a vote of the Congress, it would result in a coalition government of all the political parties in the soviet. These would include his left-wing rivals, the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries.

Lenin saw an opportunity to seize power for himself and took it. He returned to Petrograd and convened a meeting of his party on October 10. Lenin then forced through a decision (by 10 votes to 2) to prepare an uprising.

On October 16 the Central Committee was informed by its local activists that the Petrograd soldiers and workers needed stronger incentives to revolt, they "would have to be stung by something, such as the break-up of the garrison, to support an uprising." Lenin was unconcerned. He believed only a small, well-armed, and well-organized



THE RED FLAG, DEPICTED ON A REVOLUTIONARY POSTCARD FROM 1917
BRIDGEMAN/AC

SEEING RED
A considerably romanticized vision of the storming of the Winter Palace, by Nikolai Kochergin Regional Art Gallery, Chelyabinsk
FINE ART/ALBUM

force was needed. His vision won out in the Central Committee.

With the Bolshevik conspiracy now public knowledge, the soviet leaders resolved to delay the Soviet Congress until October 25. They needed more time to muster support from the provinces, a delay that fueled suspicions that the Congress would not meet at all.

Rumors of counterrevolution were strengthened when Kerensky foolishly announced his plans to transfer the bulk of the Petrograd garrison to the northern front. To prevent the garrison's removal, the Military Revolutionary Committee (MRC)—the leading organizational force of the Bolshevik uprising—was formed on October 20. By October 24 the MRC had assumed control of the Petrograd garrison. Disguised in a wig, Lenin left his hiding place and made his way to the Smolny Institute and ordered the uprising to begin.

After a series of mishaps and delays, the legendary storming of the Winter Palace, seat of the Provisional Government, took place on the night of October 25. The arrest of Kerensky's ministers was announced to the Soviet Congress, whose up to 670 delegates—mostly workers and soldiers in their tunics and greatcoats—had

LENIN SAW AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEIZE POWER FOR HIMSELF. HE RETURNED TO PETROGRAD, CONVENED HIS PARTY, AND PREPARED FOR THE UPRISING.

WHERE THE POWER USED TO BE
The Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, scene of the most dramatic events of the October Revolution, as seen from the arch in the middle of the General Staff Building. The enormous yellow complex was completed in 1830 and originally housed the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is now a part of the Hermitage Museum.

DZERZHINSKI CONSIDERED THAT TERROR WAS ESSENTIAL TO CONSOLIDATE THE REVOLUTION AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

PPH/BRIDGEMAN/ACE

REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE FOR ALL

ESTABLISHED in early December 1917, the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage—Cheka, for short, in Russian—would be, according to Lenin, "the Party's sword and shield," dispensing "revolutionary justice" wherever needed. It answered only to Lenin and it soon became one of the most feared organizations in Russia. Lenin wanted a "staunch, proletarian Jacobin" at its helm, and he found it in Feliks Dzerzhinski (above). The first director of the Cheka had few doubts about his job: "I do not seek forms of justice. We are not in need of justice. It is war now—face to face, a fight to the finish. Life or Death." And it was usually the latter. This body would survive in many forms and eventually evolve into one of the Soviet Union's most infamous agencies: the KGB

resolved to form a government based on all the parties in the soviet. Most of the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary Party delegates walked out in protest—a grave mistake, as it gave the Bolsheviks a monopoly of the soviet.

Few thought the Bolsheviks could hold on for long. The party had a tenuous hold on the capital, where their seizure of power prompted the civil service, post and telegraph service, and banks to strike. It had to fight for power in Moscow, and its support in the provinces was weak.

Even so, although the seizure of power had been carried out in the name of the soviet, Lenin had no intention of ruling through the soviet executive, where the other factions would act as a parliamentary brake on Lenin's own organ of government, the Council of People's Commissars, or Sovnarkom. On November 4, the Sovnarkom decreed itself the right to pass legislation without approval from the soviet.

The opposition parties, meanwhile, pinned their hopes on elections to the Constituent Assembly, due to be held in late November. The forming of a Constituent Assembly had always been the aim of the interim Provisional Government, and would have been the true organ of democracy: elected by universal adult suffrage, and representing every citizen, regardless of class.

If these elections were seen as a referendum on the Bolsheviks, then Lenin's party lost. His leftist rivals, the Socialist Revolutionaries, received the largest vote—about 40 percent. The Bolsheviks polled just 24 percent. But Lenin was not playing by democratic rules. Slowly but surely, the shape of a new police state, with him at the helm, emerged. In December the Military Revolutionary Committee was abolished, its duties transferred to the security organization known as the Cheka. On January 5, 1918, the Constituent Assembly opened—only to be immediately closed down by the Bolshevik guards.

A Shameful Peace

Lenin came to power on a promise of bread, land, and peace. But it was no easy task to end the war. Many Bolsheviks believed that making peace with Germany, an imperialist power, would represent a betrayal of the international cause. Lenin, though, saw that with the Russian Army

fast disintegrating, he simply had no choice but to sue for peace with Germany.

An armistice was signed, and Leon Trotsky was sent to negotiate with the Germans. Trotsky played for time, hoping that the revolution would also start in Europe. But in early February, Germany signed a treaty with the Ukrainians, who accepted German domination to win independence from Russia. The Germans then focused on Petrograd, forcing Lenin to evacuate the capital to Moscow.

In the end, the Bolsheviks had no choice but to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. The terms were ruinous for Russia: Poland, Finland, Estonia, and Lithuania were all given nominal independence under German protection. The new Soviet Republic lost 34 percent of her population, 32 percent of her agricultural land, 54 percent of her industrial enterprises, and 89 percent of her coal mines. The sacrifices secured Lenin's position as the victor of the 1917 revolutions. With the distraction of a foreign war behind him, Lenin could focus on solidifying his power at home, in the face of the civil war that lay ahead.

About the author...

ORLANDO FIGES is a professor of history at Birkbeck College, University of London. He was previously a lecturer in history and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1984 to 1999. Figes is the author of many books on Russian history, including *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution* (Penguin) and *Revolutionary Russia, 1891-1991* (Pelican). His books have been translated into more than 20 languages.

INSIDE THE WINTER PALACE
This painting by Mikhail Sokolov shows the sailors, workers, and soldiers arresting the Provisional Government after storming the Winter Palace in October 1917. State Central Museum of Contemporary History of Russia, Moscow

BPK/RMN GRAND PALAIS

One Giant Leap: The Tomb of the Diver

Adorning the lid of an ancient Greek tomb, the simple, yet striking, painting of an outstretched figure diving into a river revolutionized art history. The works of art in this tomb reinvented the understanding of ancient Greek artists and how they expressed ideas about life and death.

FOGLIA/SCALA, FIRENZE

In late spring 1968 archaeologist Mario Napoli and his team made a discovery that would overturn scholarly understanding of Greek art. Napoli's team was digging in Italy at a necropolis near the Greek site of Poseidonia, later renamed Paestum during Roman times.

"The lid of tomb number four was lifted," Napoli recalled, "and after two and a half millennia of darkness, sunshine lit up the marvelous frescoes on its internal walls." These paintings were remarkable enough—vivid and cheerful scenes of a symposium, or Greek banquet. But what made the scholars catch their breath was the work of art on the lid: Against a white background with decorative palm fronds at each corner, an extended male figure—his body a vibrant streak of color—dives from a tower headfirst into a river.

The Tomba del Tuffatore, or Tomb of the Diver as it came to be known, dates to around 470 B.C. Its discovery caused great excitement among art historians: It is the first—and as yet the only—intact physical example of figurative Greek wall painting from the archaic and classical periods, which span from the eighth all the way through to the fourth century B.C.

Fragile Frescoes

Although no figurative murals had been found in the Greek world before this tomb, historians were certain that they had existed at some point. Numerous references in the works of classical authors paid homage to wall paintings created by great masters like Polygnotus, a fifth-century B.C. artist also known for his ceramics.

Polygnotus's vessels have survived the ages and formed the basis of much of what is known about classical Greek art from that time. His murals, and others like them, have either fallen into ruin or have not yet been discovered. Unlike ceramics, frescoes are more susceptible to damage; their delicate nature could be the reason they are largely absent from the thousands of other Greek tombs from this period.

MOTHER GODDESS, TERRA-COTTA, FOURTH OR FIFTH CENTURY B.C., ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, PAESTUM, ITALY
ART ARCHIVE

Circa 600 B.C.
Greek colonists found Poseidonia (Paestum) in Italy. Large temples dedicated to Hera and Athena are built.

273 B.C.
Following occupation by the Italian Lucanian tribe, Paestum is absorbed into the territories of the rising Roman power.

A.D. 871
Paestum is sacked by Muslim raiders and abandoned. Its ruins are discovered in the 18th century.

1968
Mario Napoli discovers the Tomb of the Diver at a necropolis approximately a mile from the ancient site.

HEADLONG Scene decorating the inner lid of the fifth-century B.C. Tomb of the Diver at the Greek colony of Poseidonia (Paestum), Italy

EYE OF THE BEHOLDER

A MYSTERY lies on the tomb's southern wall. A figure holds something in his left hand, but consensus on its identity is elusive. Some see an egg, a symbol of the cosmos. Other scholars (perhaps of a more practical bent) believe it is a plectrum to strum the lyre held in his right hand.

A. ANIKA/GETTY IMAGES

An Eternal Feast

Founded at the start of the sixth century B.C., Poseidonia was one of many settlements through which the Greeks spread their cultural influence across the Mediterranean. Its three Doric temples, whose ruins still stand, testify to the city's prosperity.

The Diver Tomb frescoes discovered by Napoli and his team, however, suggest that the cultural influence was not one-way. Until its discovery, it was believed that figurative tomb painting was not practiced at all by the Greeks. It was, however, a custom among the Etruscans, whose lands bordered Poseidonia, and was a common feature of later tombs founds at Paestum.

The images on the walls of the tomb—those of the

(Continued on page 94)

POSEIDONIA: A JEWEL OF GREATER GREECE

MUCH LIKE THE SEAFARING HEROES exalted in myth, the Greeks explored and colonized far-flung corners of the Mediterranean in the first millennium B.C. With a high concentration of Greek cites, southern Italy was known as Megale Hellas, "greater Greece." Named for the Greek god of the sea, Poseidonia (Paestum) was founded there around 600 B.C. It grew prosperous enough to mint its own coins. Three Doric temples are among the best preserved Greek structures there. Absorbed into the Roman world in 273 B.C., the city began to decline. It is believed to have been damaged in the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, which destroyed nearby Pompeii.

THE SECOND TEMPLE of Hera at Poseidonia (Paestum) dates to around 460 B.C. It has similar features to the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, built around the same time.

BILDAGENTUR-ONLINE/GETTY IMAGES

FIRST EVER SILVER KRUGERRAND
OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT RELEASE

FIRST YEAR ISSUE

Actual size is 38.725 mm

How Can a Silver Coin be Over 60 Times Rarer than a Gold Coin?

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The South African Gold Krugerrand is the most famous gold coin in the world. That's because it was the very FIRST modern gold bullion coin—and is still the most widely traded gold coin on the planet. The Gold Krugerrand is the model for every other gold coin that followed it, including the American Eagle.

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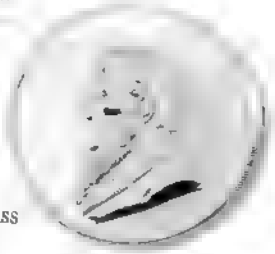
Over 60 million Gold Krugerrand have been issued in the past 50 years. But the first and only 2017 Premium Uncirculated Silver Krugerrand is strictly limited to only one million for the entire world. This means you can buy a Gold Krugerrand that numbers over 60 million (*and spend up to $1300 each*) *OR* you can secure the first ever Silver Krugerrand for as low as $47.95!



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Plunging Into the Unknown

FIVE LIMESTONE SLABS form the Tomb of the Diver. These consist of the four walls—the southern wall is not shown here—depicting scenes from a symposium; and the lid of the tomb, with its enigmatic diving figure.

PAULE E WIBAUX/FUNKYSTOCK

1 A female flute player is followed by a nude youth, possibly the deceased, and a bearded, older figure.

2 Several men play *kottabos*, a typical drinking game played at banquets. In front of them are tables with *kylikes* (drinking vessels).

3 The diver is a nude, male figure, which some believe symbolizes the leap being made from life into death.

4 A nude cupbearer stands beside a krater, which is used for mixing wine with water at a symposium.

symposium, or banquet—are, of course, a typically Greek scene. Symposia were often written about by Greek philosophers and historians. In the tomb frescoes there are 10 men present, five on each slab, reclining on divans (*klinae*) and caught up in the pleasures of wine, gaming, love, and music.

The cupbearer, who mixes the wine and water during the banquet, is present, as well as is a small entourage with a flute player—the only female figure depicted in the fresco. Two men follow, the first of whom is nude and may be a depiction of the occupant of the tomb.

The grave goods also suggest music and the pleasures of food: a tortoiseshell, believed to have been the sound box for a lyre, and an Attic *lecythus*, a cylindrical oil flask. Using the clues from the lecythus and the stylistic details of the frescoes, the tomb can be dated to between 480 and 470 B.C.

Telltale Marks

Close observation of the painting reveals a wide range of details about the way it was created. The varying quality of each of the frescoes and the differing anatomical representations of the figures indicate that the painting was likely carried out by at least two different artists.

It is easy to see the lines that were scored into the fresh plaster to sketch out the figures. Between sketching and painting, the artists made adjustments to their work, which can still be seen. These affected the position of the figures' arms, which were rendered in a more natural way than in the stiffer first draft.

After making their edits, the artists applied red strokes to outline each figure. Layers of thick paint were then painted on, after which black lines were used to highlight the finer details, including anatomy.

An Enduring Mystery

Despite these tantalizing clues left by the tomb's craftsmen, the diver motif still puzzles researchers. The skeleton found in the tomb has been assumed to be that of a young man. Was the scene an episode from the deceased's real life?

Some suggest the scene is a depiction of *katapontismós*, a drowning driven by love. Others suggest a representation of the passing of the deceased into the afterlife, a leap into death. The river represents Okeanós Potamós, the ocean that girdles the world, the border to the realm of the dead.

—Elena Castillo

To some, sunglasses are a fashion accessory…

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Next Issue

WAYNE NEAL/ISLAM/PACI

MODERN PROTESTORS, LIKE THIS ONE OUTSIDE THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON, USE GUY FAWKES AS A POWERFUL SYMBOL.

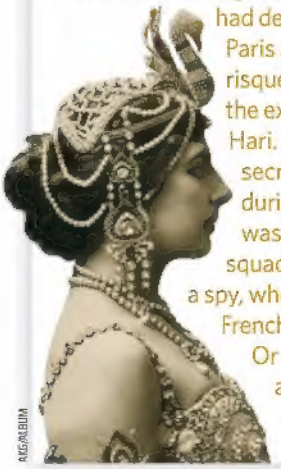
REMEMBER, REMEMBER!

The fifth of November,
The Gunpowder treason and plot;
I know of no reason
Why the Gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot!

On November 5, 1605, **GUY FAWKES** was found with 36 barrels of gunpowder stored under the Houses of Parliament. Arrested and tortured, he revealed the Gunpowder Plot, a plan hatched by him and his co-conspirators to blow up the king and the Houses of Parliament with him. Fawkes's downfall is celebrated every year in Britain, while his visage has become a modern symbol of protest around the world.

MATA HARI: THE SPY WHO LOVED THEM

A CENTURY AGO, a woman was led out of a French jail to be executed. Born Margaretha Zelle, this intelligent, beautiful Dutchwoman had delighted and scandalized Paris audiences with her risqué performances under the exotic stage name Mata Hari. Convicted of passing secrets to the Germans during World War I, she was executed by firing squad in 1917. Was she really a spy, whose pillow talk sent French soldiers to their doom? Or was her real crime to be a smart, unconventional woman?



AKG/ALBUM

Striking It Rich in Rome

Much like today, building up wealth was a path to power in ancient Rome. In the first century B.C. moneylending was a key to wealth for Rome's richest citizens. War booty laid the basis for many fortunes, including that of Julius Caesar, who used his spoils to bribe his way to the pinnacle of power.

The Wondrous Temple of Artemis

In myth, the city of Ephesus in Turkey was founded by the Amazons. In reality, it was home to the Temple of Artemis, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Known for its massive size and beautiful adornments, the temple attracted admirers for centuries before being destroyed in A.D. 262.

Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra

Ruling from the wealthy caravan city of Palmyra (Syria) in the third century A.D., Queen Zenobia rebelled against Roman rule. Conquering the eastern provinces and large swaths of Egypt, she expanded the Palmyran empire and decreed herself empress before a final showdown with the Roman emperor Aurelian.

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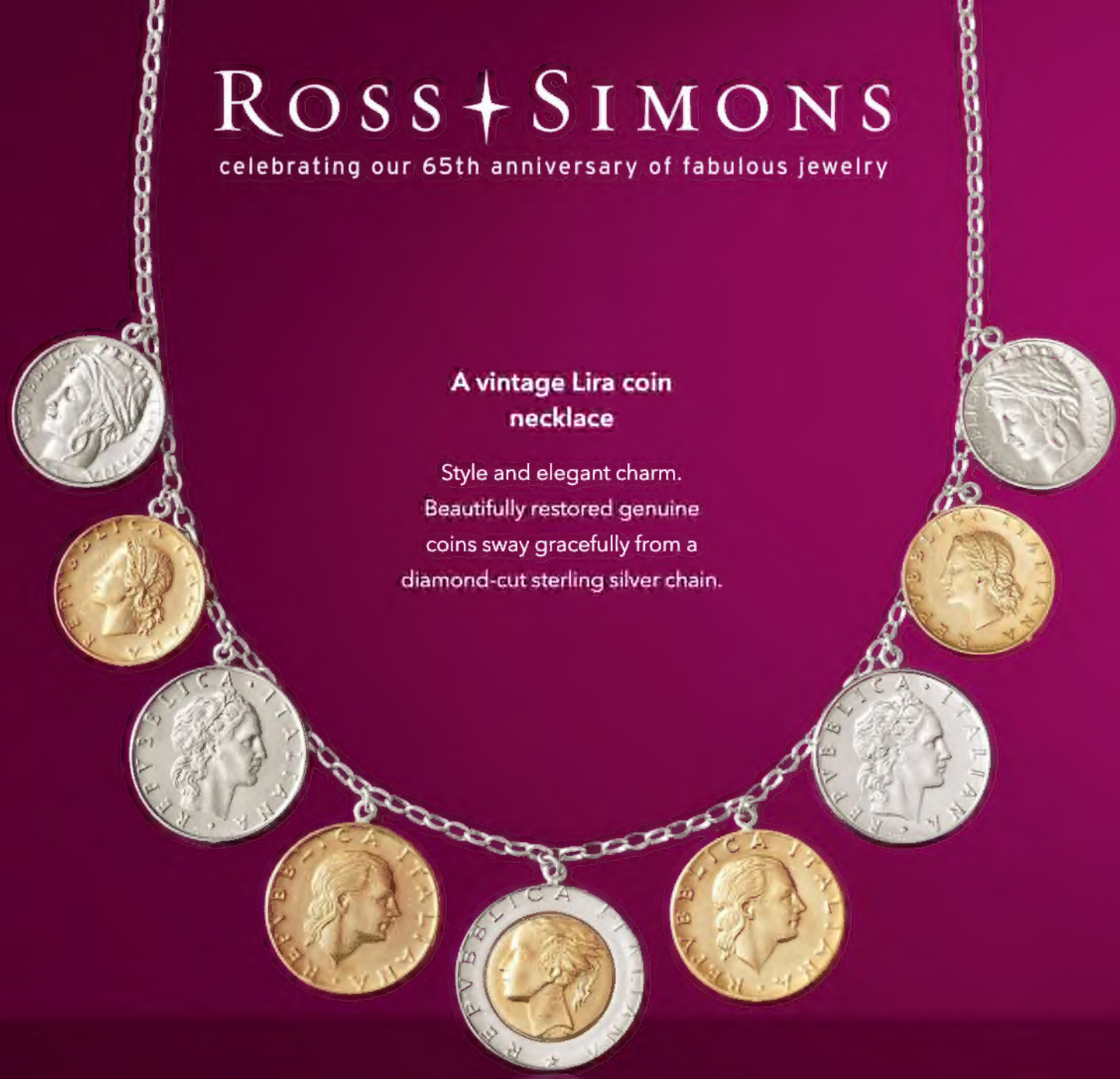

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